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Council of Defense Ministers Meets in Moscow 23 Aug

LD2008232793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1440 GMT 20 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS military observer Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Aug—The situation on the Tajik-Afghan border and measures for its normalization will be the key issue at a two-day sitting of the Council of the Defense Ministers of the Commonwealth countries which opens in Moscow on 23 August. The main command of the CIS Combined Armed Forces proposes that an agreement be adopted on coalition defense forces on Tajikistan's territory and joint measures to provide them with material and technical supplies.

The level of the session is expected to be quite high. Leonid Ivashov, secretary of the Council of Defense Ministers, told an ITAR-TASS observer today that under the prescribed procedure Russian Defense Minister General Pavel Grachev should chair the sitting. The heads of the military departments of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan have already confirmed their intention to come to Moscow. Ukraine, Turkmenistan, and Moldova have not yet announced whether they will participate in the council's session.

In addition, the defense ministers plan to discuss problems connected with the reorganization of the Main Command. In particular, the Russian side proposes that the body be reorganized into the Combined Staff for the Coordination of Military Cooperation. Obviously, in this connection a protocol decision will be adopted relieving Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Combined Armed Forces, from the post. As is known, he resigned from the post at the previous session of the Council of Defense Ministers; however, the step needs to be legally formalized. Presently, Colonel General Viktor Samsonov, chief of staff of the Main Command, is acting as commander in chief of the CIS Combined Armed Forces.

An ITAR-TASS observer has learned from sources in the Main Command that Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov was invited to participate in the council's session, but he has not accepted the invitation.

A number of military and political problems common to the Commonwealth countries have also been included on the preliminary agenda, including the coordination of activity to improve their defense capability, the creation of a collective security system, and the deepening of military cooperation. It is also planned to discuss measures for the implementation of the Treaty on Collective Security, the 15 May 1992 Treaty on Combined Armed Forces, and a number of other documents.

A joint session of the defense and foreign ministers of the Commonwealth countries is to take place in the afternoon of 24 August in Moscow. Their main concern will be a settlement of the situation in Tajikistan.

Grachev Addresses Meeting

LD2308132693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1300 GMT 23 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—"No one should have doubts that the Russian Defence Ministry considers the establishment of combined armed forces of all interested states as the main and long-term goal of military cooperation," Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev said.

Speaking at a meeting of the Council of the CIS Defence Ministers in Moscow on Monday [23 August], Grachev said that in present conditions it is impossible to realise this idea because there is neither a favourable political situation, nor a proper legal basis, nor the necessary military prerequisites.

Grachev believes the CIS states should as soon as possible establish their own armed forces with similar structure, training techniques and equipment. Until then they should create "coalition groups of troops" in the most weak directions if the need arises. He said such groups are planned to be set up in Tajikistan. He stressed that for military and economic reasons it is inexpedient to reorganise such groups into a regular force.

The meeting will also discuss the reorganisation of the main command of the cis combined armed forces, coordination of CIS states' activities aimed at increasing their defence capability, normalisation of the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border and the mechanism for the implementation of the agreement on collective security.

Further on Grachev's Remarks

LD2308162093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1316 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Announcer] Now to the session of the defense ministers of the CIS states. Tatyana Chemodanova, Mayak's special correspondent, was at the session. She is now on the line to our studio, go ahead!

[Chemodanova] Good afternoon listeners, good afternoon Olga Timofeyevna! Before the start of the session of the Defense Council of the Commonwealth, Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev allocated literally several minutes to journalists. Naturally a question on Tajikistan was asked, since it is one of the questions on the agenda of today's session: On the normalization of the situation in this region. Army General Pavel Grachev said in reply to this that it will be very difficult to solve the problem of a peaceful settlement, even with the tremendous desire on the part of Afghanistan. Here, as he said, we are relying on the leaders of the Northern Province of Afghanistan, and in particular, on General

Dostam who more or less controls the situation in the north of Afghanistan. If, as he said, we are to cooperate more closely with him, with the desire of Afghanistan's central leadership, then possibly this issue will be solved through political means, although it will be very difficult and the affair is complicated by Islamic extremism and fundamentalism.

The defense ministers' session will last two days and all representatives of all member states of the Commonwealth have come to attend it. Russian Defense Minister Grachev addressed the session. He has also been elected the chairman, since the session is taking place on Russian territory. Pavel Grachev put forward Russia's position. He said that the Russian Defense Ministry sees the setting up of joint Armed Forces of those states that are interested in doing this, as the main aim of cooperation offering the best prospects. But in order to implement this objective, there is neither the appropriate political situation, nor the normative and legal basis, including national legislation, nor the economic and military prerequisites. Which path are we to tread and what sort of development of cooperation is acceptable at the present stage? In Russia's view there is just one path: To coordinate work in such a way that national Armed Forces are created as quickly as possible and that are similar in their structure, training, and equipment. Before this, a coalition grouping of troops should be set up in sectors coming under threat if necessary, as is planned for Tajikistan. For this, a thoroughly developed legal basis is necessary, in the form of agreements and provisions [polozheniya]. Taking into account such experience, a grouping in Tajikistan will be created.

It is not expedient to talk in peace time about the setting up of a permanent grouping of coalition forces with a fixed structure. From the military point of view the same applies, and it is also not advantageous from the economic point of view. Taking into account the fact that the experience of work within the framework of the CIS is not that great, there is only one answer, as Pavel Grachev thinks: Only within the framework of the Treaty on Collective Security that can, and must become, the center for the military- political cooperation of all CIS states.

All this is impossible without the creation and formation of working bodies within the framework of the collective security system. Russia's position is to reorganize the Council of Defense Ministers of the Commonwealth into a working body of the Council of Defense Ministers of states that are party to the Treaty on Collective Security, with a coordinating function in the field of military cooperation. Grachev stressed that this was not a whim of the Russian Defense Ministry, it would be more economical. The Russian Defense Ministry has drawn up several provisions for the reorganization. But since journalists were told to leave the session, and the session is taking place behind closed doors, this is all the information that I have. It is supposed that the main results will be later. As soon as I find out something, I will report back.

Grachev, Tajik Minister on Coalition Forces

LD2308145593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1420 GMT 23 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS— Tajikistan's Defence Minister Aleksandr Shishlyannikov has described the proposal to "establish coalition forces and a coalition command on the territory of the republic" as "the most realistic variant."

The proposal will be discussed at a meeting of the council of the defence ministers of the CIS states that opened in Moscow on Monday.

Shishlyannikov said the coalition forces will include Russian, Uzbek, Kazakh and Kyrgyz units. He assessed the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border as "complex, but controllable." He stressed that the idea of "transparent" borders no longer exists, warning that all armed intruders trying to penetrate the territory of Tajikistan will meet strong resistance.

Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev said that Russia is not seeking to change the situation in Tajikistan by military means. "First of all, we hope for a political dialogue, political settlement through the foreign ministries. We also count on other CIS states, especially those which have not joined the system of collective security. We will retain our military presence in Tajikistan primarily in order to provide support to border guards," Grachev said.

"My task is to coordinate the activities of military units on the territory of Tajikistan and I am fulfilling it. There will be no more attacks on border outposts. The events of the last few days show that we have gained," the Russian defence minister added.

Grachev supported the idea of establishing coalition forces in Tajikistan and stressed that Russia has already set up a task force on the basis of the 201st Motorised Infantry Division stationed in the republic.

High Command Reorganized; Samsonov Appointed Ad Interim

LD2408093193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0920 GMT 24 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS military analyst Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS - The heads of military establishments of countries-members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) today decided to reorganise the chief command of the CIS joint armed forces into a working body of the Defence Ministers Council.

An agreement, which is expected to be initialled here in the afternoon today, says that the chief command will be headed during the transitional period by Colonel-General Viktor Samsonov, chief of staff of the CIS joint armed forces. The defence ministers are to draw up for the next CIS summit a list of international legal acts which are to be annulled or specified. The question of how the new body of the Defence Ministers Council will be called—a committee or a military cooperation headquarters—will apparently be settled later.

The meeting participants have not reached unanimity on the article of the agreement abolishing the post of commander-in-chief of the CIS joint armed forces and commander of the CIS strategic forces and relieving of these duties Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov. Chief of the general staff of the Kazakh armed forces Alibek Kasymov said that he lacked sufficient powers to decide the problem. He moved to formulate it in a separate agreement. Kasymov pointed out that the abolition of the post of commander of the strategic forces of the CIS joint armed forces might violate not only the agreements reached within the frameworks of the commonwealth, but also some international legal acts, such, for instance, as the Lisbon Protocol. Belarus Defence Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy and Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev moved to abolish only the post of commander-in-chief. However, it is unclear so far whether the Kazakh delegation will agree to this or not. Ukraine must apparently have its say, too, since it is among the "four CIS nuclear powers". However, its representative made no official statements today.

The second document, namely the decision on the main areas of coordination among CIS states to raise their defence capacity, to set up a system of collective security, and to deepen military cooperation was approved practically without any changes. It includes eleven main areas of cooperation, including the establishment of joint anti-aircraft defence systems, early warning systems against missile attacks, control of outer space, and also elaboration of a long-term concept for the joint armed forces of the commonwealth.

The meeting is now discussing two documents linked with Tajikistan—an agreement on coalitional defence forces which are now being set up on the territory of the republic, and a statute for their command. These documents will be initialled only by the defence ministers of the countries that have joined the treaty on collective security.

Ivashov Interviewed on CIS Military Collaboration

PM2308152393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Aug 93 First Edition p 5

["Topical Interview" with Lieutenant General Ivashov, secretary of the CIS Defense Ministers Council, by Vyacheslav Kocherov; place and date not given: "We Are Strong When We Are Together"]

[Text] The CIS member states' Defense Ministers Council holds its regular session 23-24 August. For the first time the foreign ministers and defense ministers of the Commonwealth countries will be holding a joint session. Our correspondent began his conversation with Lieutenant General Ivashov, secretary of the Defense Ministers Council, by asking him to explain why the diplomatic and military departments are pooling their efforts.

[Ivashov] Some foreign ministers have actually taken part in our conferences before. The present agenda includes questions which simply could not be resolved without their participation.

[Kocherov] What questions exactly?

[Ivashov] There will be discussion of measures aimed at normalizing the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border and the main avenues of coordinating the joint activity of the CIS states in boosting their defensive capability, creating a system of collective security, and stepping up military cooperation. We plan to adopt a number of documents on the implementation of the Treaty on Collective Security. As you can see, these are problems where the Commonwealth countries' diplomatic, political, and military interests closely overlap.

Finally, it is essential to examine the question of the commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces.

[Kocherov] That is to say, whom to appoint to this post following Shaposhnikov's departure?

[Ivashov] But he has not yet left this post. The commander in chief was proposed by the Defense Ministers Council and confirmed by the Council of Heads of State. The procedure for relieving the commander in chief of his position is the same. As for the position itself, there could be several options in view here: A new candidacy for commander in chief, a temporary acting commander in chief, or the abolition of the post. The last option, so it seems to me, is the least acceptable. The point is that the position of commander in chief exists in all international documents dealing with defense, and its abolition or alteration would require the revision of many of these documents, including the CIS Charter. A revision of documents of this kind is a far from simple process, and a lengthy one too, and the time demands specific measures to implement joint defense programs.

[Kocherov] There is the same variety, as far as I know, in views on the formation of Joint Armed Forces. One or two people in the Ministry of Defense believe that as long as armed forces exist only in Russia, there is nothing to unite. However, there is also another opinion: Military integration is the main condition for preserving not only the Commonwealth as a whole, but also each republic separately.

[Ivashov] The Treaty on Collective Security is already a reality. It has been ratified by all the CIS states which signed it. And it is not a question of whether or not we need collective security, but of how to realize the provisions of this treaty in practice. At the forthcoming council we intend to adopt precisely such measures.

[Kocherov] Nevertheless, does the Commonwealth military coalition have a future? It is well known that many of the former Soviet republics, in proclaiming their sovereignty, turned toward the West, and their young military commanders toward NATO.

[Ivashov] Obviously there is a degree of truth in this. Let us recall December 1991, the Belovezhskaya Forest agreement. In completing this deal secretly from their colleagues in the USSR, certain political forces did not hide their intentions to integrate as quickly as possible with the West's economic and military-political system. Hence the loud statements about readiness to join NATO. If this had happened, the consequences of such actions would have been humiliating and detrimental for the CIS countries. This would have been treachery with regard to the majority of components of the former USSR, since Russia for many centuries united them, keeping them in tow, but never betraying them. But the most important thing, perhaps, is that membership of NATO would have simply failed to afford security and stability to a single one of the CIS states. As a great power Russia can only belong to a commonwealth of the newly formed states and certain countries of the former socialist camp.

[Kocherov] But will the other CIS states submit to Russia's leadership?

[Ivashov] They have not rejected it. Apart from Ukraine, perhaps, and even then, most likely only its nationalist elements. But even there commonsense is already gathering force.

[Kocherov] However, in the opinion of some military experts, there is another road, more profitable for Russia—strategic partnership with the United States. What do you think about this?

[Ivashov] In the political sphere it will hardly bring in tangible dividends. If Russia turns aside from the former USSR republics, they will be forced to look for allies beyond the Commonwealth's external borders, which is partly happening today already.

From the economic point of view, Russia's military cooperation with CIS countries will give far more advantages: Additional expenditure on the creation of additional groups of forces and military infrastructure will not be necessary, and the market for Russian arms will be retained, as will production sharing arrangements in military production. It should not be forgotten either that millions of our fellow citizens live outside Russia. Deterioration of relations between Russia and other Commonwealth countries would instantly have an effect on their position as well, as has happened, for example, in Tajikistan.

[Kocherov] But on 7 August the heads of five states projected some measures on Tajikistan.

[Ivashov] At the moment these measures just amount to instructions. The defense and foreign ministers are due to implement them 24 August. Above all it is a question of creating a coalition group of forces on Tajik territory. We will resolve this difficult question and move on. This will be just the sort of experience which can be used in the work on creating Joint Armed Forces.

[Kocherov] But how do the United States and NATO relate to attempts to create a military alliance in the Commonwealth? Will this not rekindle the former opposition?

[Ivashov] The right to collective defense is enshrined in the UN Charter. Whether the West wishes to see us united, strong, and independent is a different question. The contents of U.S. Presidential Directive No. 13, which was published in the press, suggest the reverse. And now we have statements from two U.S. politicians of worldwide renown. Thus H. Kissinger believes: "I would prefer chaos and civil war in Russia to the tendency for its peoples to reunite into a united, strong, and centralized state." He is echoed by Z. Brzezinski: "Russia will be fragmented and docile."

Some people in the West clearly are keen on the policy of "festering social catastrophes" in combination with a tough strong-arm course of conduct vis-a-vis the CIS countries. We are already seeing today that the West's aid to the CIS countries remains strictly measured and sporadic. But even despite this the priority is being given to dismantling nuclear weapons—$1 million for each warhead dismantled. And not a word about advanced, ecologically sound technologies.

Understand, we have no time for confrontation, given the general economic problems which all the CIS countries share. God grant that we survive. Moreover, if NATO is the guarantor of stability in Europe, why should the Treaty on Collective Security not become the same guarantor in the CIS? Let these two guarantors, collaborating with one another, ensure security and stability throughout the Eurasian continent.

Pyankov Warns of 'Anti-Russian Wave' in Afghanistan

PM2308150593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 93 p 2

[Igor Chernyak report: "The Next Day There Was War. Will the Coalition Forces Become a New 'Limited Contingent'?"]

[Excerpt] On 15 June Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, announced his departure for the Russian Security Council. At the same time he reported that the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces did not exist and that their creation in the very near future was problematic.

The defense ministers of the CIS countries will come together Monday 23 August for the first time since then. It is expected that, contrary to the position of the commander in chief (no one has yet released Marshal Shaposhnikov from his duties), there will still be talk of the need to create these forces. True, they will no longer be called joint but coalition forces.

The High Command hopes that the CIS states' coalition defense forces will be based on subunits and units of Russia (according to some data, 30-40 percent) and of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan (60-70 percent). The possibility that Armenia and, maybe, Belarus will join these countries in the very near future cannot be ruled out. In general, according to Colonel General Boris Pyankov, deputy commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, the doors are open for everyone.

"If our hopes materialize, the CIS coalition forces will be operationally subordinate to the High Command and will include subunits of Ground Forces, Air Forces, Airborne Troops, and Air Defense and combat support units. The possibility that peacemaking forces will appear in them also cannot be ruled out," Pyankov said. "The planned strength ranges from an army corps to a combined-arms army, in other words 30,000-50,000 men. Units belonging to the coalition forces will be stationed in their own republics, in Russia probably on the territories of the Ural and Volga Military Districts and partly the Siberian Military District. They will be manned in the usual way, by both contract and drafted servicemen. In the event of aggression they can be transferred promptly to sites of combat operations."

[Chernyak] Whom do you regard as the probable enemy today?

[Pyankov] I would not put the question in this way, because I am deeply convinced that nobody today wants to fight. But there are situations like the recent one, when certain forces and groupings might unleash quite a serious conflict. For the involvement of regular troops—subunits of the 15th and 55th Infantry Divisions of the Islamic State of Afghanistan—in combat operations against Russian border guards has already been recorded.

[Chernyak] But official Kabul has repeatedly denied the facts of the involvement of troops subordinate to it in clashes on the border....

[Pyankov] Kabul has disowned them, saying that they do not obey it, and has virtually given them an indulgence for freedom of action. Therefore, if this involvement assumes a wider scale tomorrow, it will be impossible to repulse aggression using border guard troops alone. The possibility that the scale will widen cannot be ruled out: According to our data, a strong anti-Russian wave is swelling in Afghanistan today, serious psychological preparation is under way, and major events involving large groupings of not only mojahedin but also regular troops can be expected in the very near future. We are obliged to take adequate actions. [passage omitted]

Council of Foreign Ministers Meets in Moscow

LD2408083393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0804 GMT 24 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—A meeting of the foreign ministers council of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) opened here today. It is being attended by the foreign ministers of all the countries of the Commonwealth, except Ukraine and Kazakhstan, which are represented by deputy ministers. A representative of Georgia here has also arrived for the meeting.

Opening the meeting, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev stated that relations among CIS nations were now marked by a tendency to promote cooperation and integration. "Today," he said, "we are to make a new step forward to turn the CIS nations from a regional into an international factor."

Session Ends; Documents Adopted

LD2408105393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1028 GMT 24 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Aug—Participants in the CIS Foreign Ministers Council have recommended the republic of Belarus as a non-permanent member of the UN Security council.

This decision was adopted at the council session which ended here today. During the session the foreign ministers adopted eight documents on the interaction of states in different areas of foreign political activity.

Heads of Government Meeting Switched to Moscow on 7 Sep

LD2308165093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1529 GMT 23 Aug 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Larisa Lazar for TASS]

[Text] Minsk, 23 August—A BELINFORM correspondent was informed at the news service of the CIS Executive Secretariat that the Council of Heads of Government session, which was planned for 27 August in Minsk, has been changed, with the prime ministers' agreement, to 7 September and will be held in Moscow at the same time as the Commonwealth heads of state meeting.

A session of the Coordinating and Consultative Committee will be held in the Belarusian capital on 26 August, when the participants are due to examine proposals concerning a future summit agenda and primarily problems of strengthening economic integration between the young sovereign states of the Commonwealth.

Signing of Slavic Economic Union Postponed

MK2108114093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 21 Aug 93 p 3

[Marat Salimov report: "Economic Union's Prospects. Joint Statement of Three States Has So Far Been Put Off"]

[Text] It was expected that on 20 August the legal status of a joint statement by the governments of Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine on setting up an economic union of the three Slavic states would clear up. This did not happen, however, despite the desire by the heads of governments to conclude the trilateral agreement as soon as possible, because experts who were drawing up the draft economic union paper failed to reach mutual agreement. The signing of the documents has been put off for an unspecified period.

The main reason for the postponement in the signing of the documents was a lack of understanding between the three countries' experts on the key issues of economic integration.

In particular, they failed to reach agreement on scrapping quantitative restrictions in trade between the three countries. Under the drafts presented by Ukraine and Belarus, Russia was to lift quotas on mineral resources exports. Since fuel, energy, and raw material resources account for the bulk of Russia's hard- currency earnings, however, Moscow insists that a condition for lifting the quotas on these deliveries should be either a transition to hard-currency settlements or guaranteed counterdeliveries of goods, primarily food.

Apart from this, the experts were unable to agree on the settlement of credit and financial relations, without which no successful integration in mutual trade is possible. According to the Russian State Cooperation Committee, if the sides reach understanding, the agreement "On the Promotion of Economic Integration Between the Republic of Belarus, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine" may be initialed as early as next week.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 21 Aug

LD2108060193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0544 GMT 21 Aug 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 21 ITAR-TASS—NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA frontpages today an article about the appeal of President Yeltsin to the Russian parliament, in which he urged its members to discuss the terms of and procedure for holding pre-term parliamentary elections.

In the opinion of the newspaper, Yeltsin's accusations at the Thursday press conference that the parliament's activities have acquired an anti-people character and are threatening Russia's security were "swallowed" by the parliament, but "did not seem to have poisoned it." "The statement that the parliamentary elections will be held this autum, although this will be difficult to achieve, were met with silence. However, the legislators met with much attention the president's words expressing confidence that his proposals on the pre-term elections will not be accepted."

TRUD also carries an article on this subject, in which it cites fragments from the president's letter to the parliament. Yeltsin pointed out in it that "the dragging on constitutional and political crisis, whose symptoms are obvious to all, has a disastrous effect on Russia's statehood and dramatically reduces possibilities for constructive reform-oriented activities in Russia." In the current situation, parliamentary elections are the only way out, the president believes.

TRUD also publishes today an interview with Yuriy Kalmykov, Russian deputy minister of justice and head of a special commisson for eradicating corruption in the top echelons of power. He said the commission had the greatest number of grievances against the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the Ministry of Economy and the Ministry of Fuel and Energy. For instance, he continued, one agency issues quotas for the sale of oil, and another one issues licenses. "Licenses are issued for the sale of strategic materials in the volumes in which they are not produced in this country" He said.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA publishes an article under the headline "Coalition Defence Forces: to Be or Not To Be." The newspaper's observer points out that now there is no doubt in anybody's mind that an agency coordinating joint activities of cis members in the military sphere is necessary. So far as the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border is concerned, it calls for the creation of the coalition defence forces capable of ensuring stability in that region. This does not mean that some new army units should be formed, the point at issue is that the national armed forces should send some of their units to the coalition force.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an interview with Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, first president of the Republic of Kalmykia. During his first months in office he dissolved soviets (councils) on all levels, put an end to the privatization of major industrial enterprises and reduced the numerical strength of the council of ministers. Speaking about the new draft constitution, Ilyumzhinov expressed disagreement with the fact that the right of nations to self- determination is recorded in it. "Kalmykia wants to be a republic, but only integrated in the united and indivisible Russia. So far as the economic restructuring is concerned, I am sure this is a job for economists, for entrepreneurs, but not for politicians who are now heading most local administrations in Russia and the CIS in general," he said.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reminds its readers of the state emergency committee trial and the developments of August 1991, and carries comments on the trial by various politicians and statesmen of Russia. Yuriy Baturin, assistant to the president, believes that the trial of members of the state emergency committee is necessary for "making public the true information about August 1991."

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishes fragments from the speech, made by Chairman of Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov at the conference in defence of the constitutional, parliamentary and democratic system in Russia, which is being attended by some 500 representatives of various parties and movements from varous regions. He said that the right-wing radical political forces, "which have a decisive influence over the executive branch and its head" had become more active of late. Commenting on President Yeltsin's appeal to the legislators about pre-term elections, PRAVDA points out that by supporting Yeltsin in August 1991, people's deputies supported in this way "a policy aimed at changing the political system and dissolving the soviets."

According to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, the conflict around the deliveries of Russian missile technology to India has not yet been settled. In its opinion, the compromise between the Russian and American side, which seemed to have been reached in mid-July, prompted at the same time rather tense relations between a number of corresponding Russian agencies and, probably, "laid a delayed-action mine under Russian-Indian economic relations."

24 Aug

LD2408061693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0553 GMT 24 Aug 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS— "The Lithuanian leadership does not keep its word, the withdrawal of Russian troops has been suspended," writes KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on its front page today, commenting on tension which arose between the two countries.

The newspaper points out that the Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas, expected to visit Moscow on August 23 and settle differences between the two countries during a meeting with Boris Yeltsin, has failed to arrive. "The chief obstacle on the way to mutual understanding remains the same - Lithuania's demand for compensation for damages caused by stationing the Soviet and the Russian army on its territory, beginning from 1940," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes.

In this connection, TRUD reminds of a statement made by the Russian Foreign Ministry at the ened of last week to the effect that consultations with the Lithuanian side on a draft treaty on the withdrawal of Russian troops have confirmed that "Vilnius has no desire to bring the matter to signing the treaty." It was earlier reported that the document should juridically confirm the withdrawal of troops by August, 31.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA gives a brief account of a meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Georgian leader Eduard Shevarnadze which has taken place in the Grand Kremlin Palace.

The newspaper pointed out that the meeting focused on the situation in Abkhazia and quoted Yeltsin as saying that it was very important to scrupulously fulfill an agreement on a ceasefire reached at the end of July, since violations of the agreement were reported on both sides.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and some other Moscow newspapers publish accounts of a news conference held by Vice-President Aleksandr rutskoy in the Kremlin. Rutskoy resolutely denied accusations made against him by the interdepartmental commission for combating organised crime and corruption of the Russian Security Council alleging that he was involved in making a big hard currency deposit into one of the Swiss banks.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA highlights an impudent attack on the commercial firm "Marcon", committed in broad daylight in the centre of Moscow. As a result of the attack, one policeman died and two others were taken to hospital and are in a critical condition in a intensive care ward. Six out of eight bandits have been detained. They are reported to be about 25 years old.

The same newspaper accounts for the resignation of Russian Foreign Economics Minister Sergey Glazyev by the fact that "being an honest and decent man he could not be used in full measure in the game of confrontation by either branch of power." The newspaper writes that all sides involved in political confrontation want this post to be occupied by their "own" man rather than an honest and a hard-working person.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA comments on decisions adopted at a meeting between boris Yeltsin and heads of Russian republics at a conference in Petrozavodsk on August 13, saying that the implementation of these decisions means ... "a split of Russia and coup d' etat."

PRAVDA carries an extensive interview with General Aleksandr Lebed, who made a long way from being a soldier to the army commander. Lebed believes that "there are no reforms in the Russian Army." According to the general, "beginning to create the Russian Army last year, we are still building a house which has no design." At the same time Lebed negatively commented on carrying out the conversion of military enterprises and pointed out that "we have reduced weapons exports as much as Americans and Germans increased them". In conclusion, Lebed said that it's time to come down from talks to business. "The Russian Army should be a reliable support of the Russian state," he added.

Kozyrev Warns East Europe on Joining NATO

LD2308203993 Warsaw PAP in English 2018 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Moscow, Aug. 23—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev warned on Monday that if the countries of Eastern Europe joined NATO the reactionary nationalist hardliners in Russia would be strengthened.

Koyzrev was speaking in an interview with PAP and the weekly newspaper POLITYKA.

"Democratic Russia, democratic Germany and democratic Western Europe are creating a historic unrepeatable opportunity for the nations in the area between them. These states should not become a new 'little entente,' a buffer which could be crushed at any time, but should take on the role of a connecting link," explained Kozyrev, saying that the Eastern European countries should be friendly to both sides.

He added that these countries could become a democratic factor for equilibrium and stability and constructive cooperation between Western Europe and Russia.

Kozyrev said that the Central and Eastern European countries had never stopped being the subject of Russia's interests and that the existing infrastructure for cooperation between them and Russia should be developed on the basis of sovereignty excluding any kind of compulsion. The treaties for mutual cooperation and good neighbourliness with Russia had achieved this but needed to be made more concrete, explained Kozyrev.

He called Yeltsin's visit to Poland "a visit of mature partnership" and emphasised that there was no question of a return to the past.

Kozyrev thought that cooperation between Russia and Poland in the Kaliningrad area could be the model for the as yet undeveloped economic cooperation between the two countries.

He argued that Russia had cast aside its former imperialist policies but could not avoid the reality that it was the biggest state in the Eurasian region.

Assistant Secretary Lord's 'Imperial Statement' Noted

PM2308142593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Aug 93 p 2

[Viktor Vinogradov report: "With Imperial Frankness"]

[Text] It is a little while since we have heard such revelations, namely, that Washington is ready to resort unilaterally to military force in Asia and other regions if, in its opinion, a threat to U.S. interests emerges there. Such a patently imperial statement has been made by Winston Lord, U.S. assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs, in an interview given to a U.S. television company. True, Lord did make a proviso, saying that Washington does of course prefer to carry out any armed intervention on a multilateral basis with its allies in accordance with military treaties. But it is no more than a proviso, because he firmly stated there and then that the United States reserves the "right and duty" to act unilaterally.

And it is not difficult to imagine what that could mean. You only have to recall the United States' aggressive actions against sovereign states like Grenada and Panama, for example. The defense of notorious "U.S. interests" resulted for those countries in a large-scale invasion by U.S. troops with all the ensuing tragic consequences—civilian deaths and major destruction.

Clearly, it is these aggressive U.S. actions which inspired Lord to make these revelations. And what is noteworthy here is that the U.S. assistant secretary of state was not thinking in the abstract but had specific adressees in mind. The television interview was, after all, broadcast simultaneously via satellite link to Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, and Australia.

Woodruff Case Set in Context of U.S. Policy

PM2308144193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Aug 93 First Edition p 7

[Stanislav Kondrashov article: "Fred Woodruff, Graham Greene, And Others. Killing of 'Quiet American' in Georgia"]

[Text] Nothing can surprise us now, but it is nonetheless a rare occurrence for U.S. diplomats to be murdered on the territory of the former USSR. The recent death of U.S. Embassy staffer Fred Woodruff on a highway near Tbilisi one evening is no ordinary, run-of-the-mill occurrence. Particularly given the attendant circumstances.

I would remind you that he was accompanied by a man and two women. However, it was not the presence of the unnamed women that lent the matter a rare acuteness, but the fact that the man at the wheel was Eldar Gogoladze, head of Eduard Shevardnadze's guard. And also the fact that the murdered American, it rapidly became clear, only carried a diplomatic passport but was in fact a CIA staffer on a special mission in Georgia. The plot thickens. At the time in question CIA Director James Wolsey was by coincidence in Moscow meeting with the head of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service. Confirming what was by then an open secret, Wolsey flew to Tbilisi aboard a government Boeing to take Woodruff's body back to the United States and at the same time have a one-hour conversation at the airport with Shevardnadze, the content of which has not, as is customary, been made public.

I would also remind you that a suspect has already been arrested and the investigators are convinced that his motives were criminal, to whit robbery; that is in keeping with the morals of Georgia today. But, along with the crime story, enough material is being gathered together, without adding anything, to write a novel in the style of Graham Greene—a novel with a U.S. intelligence officer (once again in the southern latitudes, but this time close to us), secret operations by a superpower in a banana (or tangerine?) republic, a fight for influence, freedom and power, with democrats and Tontons Macoutes, and also, of course, with love intrigue or, if the worst comes to the worst, sex slaves. There is even a range of ready-made titles: "The Quiet American," "Our Man...in Tbilisi," "The Comedians" (in both the lofty and the low sense).

A journalist's task is more modest and mundane—to discern through this unexpected flareup the quite new, fantastic reality that we have mentally swallowed without having a chance to chew on or digest it. To discern and attempt to explain it rather than denounce or justify it, as the warring parties in the Russian squabble are accustomed to doing. Truth, as we know, is the first casualty in a war even if the war is a political one.

So, the American from the CIA had links with a Georgian who invited him down for a weekend of relaxation, and with a common cause—guarding Eduard Shevardnadze. The Georgian leader's friends in the West are concerned at the state of his security in an extremely insecure republic. "The West has a debt to Shevardnadze," the U.S. press explains. The United States is willing to physically protect and of course politically guard Shevardnadze in his present post. Washington cherishes his personal future perhaps no less than the fate of Georgia itself, which plays an unobtrusive role in the global U.S. scheme of things. At former Secretary of State James Baker's suggestion last year the U.S. special services and the Delta special unit helped organize Shevardnadze's security by training his guards in the United States and supervising them "at local level"—which is obviously what the late Woodruff was doing. It is also reported that the Americans supplied the Georgian leadership with a special communications system guaranteed against eavesdroppers—an alternative to Moscow's "revolving doors" [vertushki]. Some 2,0000 army uniforms—comfortable, dandified, crease-resistant uniforms that take into consideration how fond the military are of a world-class appearance—were provided free, "on a trial basis."

The long-standing client of the mighty "Nine," the well-known KGB directorate that guarded the health and lives of CPSU Central Committee Politburo members, is now being guarded by a U.S. system. Was the previous protection really that bad? Why not find protection closer to home by asking a favor of the Russian president, who now controls the old Ninth Directorate? These are naive questions. Keep away from Moscow. Amid the reality of breakup and the blatant suspicion that accompanied the sovereignization of everything, such favors from Moscow are politically dangerous and morally unacceptable to Tbilisi, whereas with the Americans they have switched from certain recent emotions to their opposite, from insincere shows of hostility to manifestations of ardent sympathy and love. That will last until the new realities force changes in line with the new realism.

However, realism and pragmatism are already present now in the actions and ideas of such an experienced politician as Shevardnadze. His personal reputation in the West is his main trump card both in the eyes of the Georgians who invited him to "reign" over them and in Georgia's quest under his leadership for a way out of the profound crisis into which it has gotten itself..., albeit not without his leadership as well. He is now paying other—not Soviet or Russian—but Georgian accounts with the political capital that he earned in the West owing to his active participation in dismantling the Soviet superpower, although he is finding that Georgia's relations with Russia are its soundest currency in its main conflict with Abkhazia.

Shevardnadze does of course realize that a special relationship with Washington will not supplant these relations. But politics necessitates a balancing act and good turns pay dividends. That was the philosophy in the confrontational world—the underlying cause of the nonaligned movement, which used the rivalry between the USSR and the United States to its own advantage. In the changed historical context it is now being mastered by Georgia and other former Union republics. I will not [illegible] that the Shevardnadze of today is yesterday's Nasir, Nehru, or Tito. Moreover the United States and Russia are not rivals with irreconcilable ideologies, and Russia in its birth (or death) agonies cannot properly exploit its potential. Nevertheless something akin to the nonaligned movement can be seen in the effort of a small, weak nation, striving to attain its own statehood, to adapt the great powers' interests—coincident and differing—to the resolution of problems involved in its own establishment.

On the one hand, there are what seem to be unprecedented opportunities for relying on the United States and its influence in interstate mechanisms from the United Nations to the CSCE like romantic sails for a totally new historical journey. On the other, there is the anchor of history and the geopolitical link between Georgia and Russia borne out over the centuries. The objective given fact cannot be canceled out even at a time of new historical experiment and new, high-sounding diplomacy. No Woodruff, alone or together with others, can compete with the reality of Russia's pull, with the thousands of destinies, structures, and ties that have tied it to this and other regions of the Caucasus. By introducing troops into Sukhumi, Tbilisi was disregarding Moscow, but ultimately, when these troops were pulled out, the Russian factor was crucial. The international observers, whom Shevardnadze was more vigorous than others in trying to obtain, are just an additional factor.

Washington is stepping up and broadening its political presence in the "new independent states"—while keeping an eye on Moscow.

The death of the CIA agent, which shed light on a not-so-secret aspect of U.S. activity, virtually coincided with a sensational report in THE WASHINGTON

POST 5 August that the State Department has elaborated and is awaiting President Clinton's signature on a directive regarding the new U.S. role as mediator in disputes on former Soviet territory. The idea looked impressive in the newspaper's summary: "to help put an end to conflicts before they destabilize President Yeltsin's regime in Moscow, cause ethnic or religious conflict on a broader scale in Turkey or South Asia, or create a pretext for Russian armed forces' military aggression outside Russia." The "diplomatic arbitration" should, according to the plan, be based on the fact that "many participants in the conflicts have better relations with Washington than with one another or with Moscow." The promised economic aid to Moscow of $1.7 billion and of $800 million to other republics of the former Union is designed to bolster the arbiter's positions.

You cannot help noticing the newspaper summary's over-simplified view of an important official directive—something that is fairly typical of the United States. "Better relations?" Indeed, since they did not exist before and still do not exist in practice, but are they better in those areas where they do have some real substance? One answer can be found in the friction between Washington and Kiev. And, needless to say, miserly aid and the scant prospect of aid cannot be an effective means of influence when the stakes are far higher.

However, it was the directive's thrust against the Russian troops still stationed on the new states' territory that was the most striking feature of the newspaper summary. And its obvious unwillingness to recognize the complexity of situations like that which have arisen on the Tajik-Afghan border.

The article in THE WASHINGTON POST caused more agitation in official Washington than the murder of Fred Woodruff because it, as it were, uncovered a greater secret. In Moscow and Washington U.S. diplomats held clearly coordinated special briefings for Russian journalists 13 August—in order to "correct any possible misconception of the U.S. stance." It was stressed that the United States wants to "work on the basis of partnership with Russia" in removing obstacles caused by conflicts on condition that "all parties" concur. "We have no intention of acting unilaterally in this region and we will concentrate our efforts on cooperation within the framework of such multinational forums as the United Nations and the CSCE," it was said at the briefing in Washington.

Although some U.S. correspondents have already reported from Moscow that "liberals applaud Washington's new commitments, while conservatives condemn the Western interference," officials in the U.S. capital were not tempted by oversimplified party assessments, fearing an interpretation of the doctrine that could cause an increase in anti-U.S. sentiment in Russia. During the Washington briefing it was considered necessary to remove the Russian military from criticism by pointing out that the United States has no intention "of interfering in relations between Russian Government political and military structures."

Let us see how U.S. policy develops in practice as it maneuvers between the temptations and dangers of the new era.

'State of Crisis' in Relations with Lithuania

LD2308214293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Relations between the Russian Federation and Lithuania are in a state of crisis, said Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin on Monday in an interview with a BALTFAX correspondent. Churkin expressed his regret that an agreement has still not been reached on the withdrawal of Russian troops from Lithuania. But Russia is nonetheless continuing its contacts with Lithuania, the deputy minister stated, and is convinced that the issue of troop withdrawal can be satisfactorily resolved.

Incidentally, it has been announced in Vilnius that from 1 October people from countries of the CIS will be able to travel to Lithuania only if they possess a passport allowing foreign travel, while from the beginning of November an entry visa will be required in addition.

Foreign Ministry Update on Bosnia Talks

LD2308161193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1530 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—The Geneva talks on Bosnia and Herzegovina have entered an extremely important stage. This has been achieved through intensive work and the highest degree of cooperation between all sides involved. The leaders of the sides are getting rid of the absurd idea of military victory and are turning in favour of political decisions, the Russian Foreign Ministry said.

In a statement issued on Monday, the ministry stressed that there have been tangible moves even in the most complex question concerning the territorial division of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The sides will have to make their conclusions on the new variant of settlement within the period of time determined by the co-chairmen. The Russian Foreign Ministry calls on all Bosnian sides to accept this "hard, but vitally important compromise."

The ministry expressed confidence that the world community, primarily the United Nations and its Security Council, should give a clear signal encouraging reconciliation and not to undertake any actions which could compound the negotiation process. In the present situation it is "inadvisable to indulge in sharp rhetoric and tactic of intimidation. Even more inadmissible are hasty and inadequate to the real situation decisions," the statement stressed. [sentence as received]

The ministry believes that the U.N. Security Council should not only promote the soonest possible signing of an agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also act as a guarantor of its implementation. To this end, it is necessary to adopt, immediately after the signing of the Geneva package of agreements in its support, a resolution which would envision not only an "active onward movement towards the implementation of agreements, but also the toughest sanctions against their violators," the document said.

More on Kozyrev Discussions With ICO on Bosnia

PM2308143393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Aug 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Konstantin Eggert: "Representatives of Islamic World Do Not Accuse Russia of Having Pro-Serbian Sympathies"]

[Text] "The talks turned out to be better than many people expected," was Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin's description of Andrey Kozyrev's conversation with an Islamic Conference Organization [ICO] delegation.

The ICO delegation, comprising Hamid Algabid, secretary general of the ICO; Hikmet Cetin and Abdus Sattar, the Turkish and Pakistani foreign ministers; and Ben Mustapha, Tunisian minister of state for foreign affairs, is touring the capitals of the permament members of the UN Security Council.

The discussion centered on problems of a political settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the eve of the ICO representatives' visit it was suggested that they would accuse Russia of having a pro-Serbian orientation. But this did not happen, and the tendency in Smolenskaya Square is to regard the constructive spirit of the talks as the result of purposeful preliminary consultations by Russian diplomats with the ICO leadership. "I think we managed to convince the ICO members that Russia's objective goal is the settlement of the crisis in Bosnia," V. Churkin believes.

According to him, one of the key elements of the discussion was the following statement by the important visitors: While it actively supports Izetbegovic's Muslim government, the ICO does not intend to conduct an independent policy on the Bosnian question and regards the UN role in the settlement process as the leading one.

Despite the common approaches, different nuances (sometimes very marked) remain, in particular cocnerning the advisability of a NATO air strike against Bosnian Serb positions. Moscow's arguments are as follows: Hasty strongarm action, going beyond the Security Council resolution, would cause an escalation of the bloodshed, thus strengthening the influence of the extremists, both Muslim and Croat. In that case, the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry believes, Bosnia would face a disaster of unprecedented dimensions this winter. The ICO representatives, having listened to Russia's arguments, on the whole remained true to their initial position, set out by Turkish diplomatic chief Hikmet Cetin: If diplomatic methods do not produce results, other ways of intervening in the situation should be studied.

Actually, to all appearances, Andrey Kozyrev and his colleagues are not particularly worried by the difference in views, since, according to available data, the Russian view of the possibility of using force in Bosnia has held sway in the Security Council in recent days: air strikes can be carried out for the sole purpose of protecting UN forces under attack, and only with the UN secretary general's sanction and with the agreement of the permanent members of the Security Council. Moscow believes that our diplomats have managed to ensure that any actions that go beyond this will be viewed separately by the Security Council.

Russian Battalion in Vukovar Needs Reinforcements

LD2308211993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Video report by correspondent A. Ilyin; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Ilyin] The stay of the working group of the Defense Ministry under the leadership of Yevgeniy Podkolzin, in the zone of responsibility of the Russian battalion on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, has come to an end. The Russian paratroopers are serving in the eastern sector in one of the most tense areas of the disputed territory between the Serbian and Croatian sides. The town of Vukovar, which has become a symbol of the tragedy of the peoples of the former Yugoslavia, is situated here. The parachute battalion's zone of responsibility comprises 1,200 square kilometers and is controlled with the aid of 37 posts which have been subjected to shelling on a number of occasions. Over 18 months, 14 paratroopers here have been wounded, and one man has died.

[Ye. Podkolzin, parachute battalion commander] The tragedy is that the men are undergoing the harshest service in harsh conditions. Today the question of reinforcing this battalion has arisen, because the situation today is very dangerous, serious, and unpredictable.

[Ilyin] At the same time, the lack of legal protection of the Russian servicemen, who have been serving for two years with the UN forces on the basis of temporary instructions and not the law, arouses bewilderment.

[A. Orlov, deputy director of a Foreign Ministry department] The wish that our battalion should be reinforced with men and equipment, in my view, deserves the most careful study.

Yeltsin To Sign Agreements During Eastern Europe Tour

LD2308132093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1147 GMT 23 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's official visit to Poland on August 24-25 and his working trip to the Czech Republic and Slovakia on August 26 will confirm Russia's foreign political priorities in the East European region, according to Russian diplomatic sources.

Both Russia and Poland believe that the Russian president's visit will seal the radical turn-about in their relations, which was initiated during the first Russian-Polish summit in Moscow in May 1992. During that summit, an important inter-state treaty of friendship and partnership was signed and a new, deideologised framework was established for the development of relations between Russia and Poland.

The visit will fill the earlier signed accords (there were about 15 such accords) with specific substance. An entire new package of documents has been prepared for signing during the upcoming visit. In particular a fundamental inter-state agreement on trade and economic cooperation between Russia and Poland will be signed. An inter-governmental agreement will also be signed, nicknamed "the project of the century" by the Polish press. The agreement concerns the creation of a new gas pipeline system for Russian natural gas transit via Poland and for gas supplies to Poland itself. The project's value is estimated at more than three billion dollars.

Agreements on cooperation in the field of science and technology, on cooperation in the field of the environment, in the field of customs control, culture, science and education have also been prepared for signing.

This set of agreements will take relations between our countries to a qualitatively new level. Its noteworthy that economic problems feature prominently in the package. They also feature prominently in relations between Russia and Poland.

Former Soviet and now Russian troops are being withdrawn from Polish territory ahead of schedule. Most army units were withdrawn before last November, followed by the largest formation—a communications brigade—this August. No more than 2,000 Russian troops are still stationed in Poland. This effectively meets the target set in the package of documents on the Russian troop withdrawal from Poland signed last year. There is hope that during the forthcoming visit of the Russian president, headway will be made in settling mutual debts. It is likely that a question will be raised concerning Polish ships fishing in Russian territorial waters and in the Sea of Okhotsk.

Chernomyrdin, Slovak Premier Discuss Economic Cooperation

LD2308170393 Prague CTK in English 1643 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Moscow, August 23 (CTK)—During their three-hour meeting, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and his Russian counterpart Viktor Chernomyrdin today discussed economic cooperation and preparations for a short visit by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to Bratislava, scheduled for Thursday.

After the meeting, Chernomyrdin indicated that in Bratislava Yeltsin would sign an agreement on Russian-Slovak mutual relations. The information was confirmed by Slovak unofficial sources.

On Tuesday, Yeltsin will leave for an official visit to Poland. On his way home, he will stop over in Prague and Bratislava.

Chernomyrdin said that he had discussed with Meciar all aspects of economic cooperation exept for the Russian debt toward Bratislava, which Slovaks estimate to be worth 1.5 billion USD. It is inappropriate to discuss debts, as they are usually paid off, stated Chernomyrdin. He stressed that Russia's stand remained unchanged and Russia was determined to shoulder responsibility for its previous commitments.

Meciar confirmed that the two parties had not agreed so far on the debt's amount. He considers not the debts but the way of developing mutual trade to be the main question. He said that the Slovak and Russian finance ministers and representatives of national banks were to meet in a few days. They should prepare a mutual agreement on payments and payment conditions for 1994.

Chernomyrdin quoted Meciar as expressing interest in Slovak participation in the exploitation of oil resources in western Siberia. He noted that Slovakia has observer status in the so called Surgut agreement, which is considered a sort of OPEC (Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries) within the former Soviet Union. Next year, Slovakia might become a full- fledged member, which would be advantageous for both Bratislava and Moscow, Chernomyrdin emphasised.

Slovakia and Russia intend to establish a joint company with Austria, which would link up the western and eastern oil- and gas pipeline systems.

More on Georgia-Russia Talks

'Full-Scale' Treaty Prepared

LD2308140393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1310 GMT 23 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Igor Gvritishvili and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Aug—A full-scale friendship and cooperation treaty between Russia and Georgia will be signed in Tbilisi in September of this year, the Georgian head of state said at the end of his Kremlin meeting with Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation.

Answering a question from an ITAR-TASS correspondent, he said "the contractual basis for the legal regulation of bilateral relations has been prepared, and now we have agreed in principle that the conclusive fifth round of talks will be held in Moscow at the end of August, and the signing will take place in Tbilisi in September at the level of heads of state."

"During the conversation," he went on, "we discussed economic and financial relations between the two states, and the processes taking place in both countries."

Concerning the course of the settlement of the conflict in Abkhazia, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed that during the talks both sides "expressed their satisfaction with the fact that fairly sound first steps have been taken to stop the firing, and also that conditions are being created for a final settlement of the conflict."

They also spoke about the need to speed up the process and to provide guarantees for the safe return of refugees, who number about 140,000. "This is perhaps the most acute problem, once we have succeeded in stopping the firing," he stressed, adding that the achievement of peace in Abkhazia will stimulate the peace process in the Caucasus as a whole.

Concerning the autonomous status of Abkhazia within Georgia, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed that there are no grounds for concern.

Speaking about the future state structure of Georgia, he noted that this process will be regulated by the new constitution, the draft of which is presently being drawn up and which should be ready by the end of this year, and which should be presented for nationwide discussion in the spring.

Speaking about the initiative for holding a meeting between all the heads of state of the former USSR republics, which was put forward recently by Saparmurad Niyazov and Eduard Shevardnadze, he said that "Boris Yeltsin seemed to be favorably inclined toward the idea of holding such a meeting."

Refugees 'Most Urgent Problem'

LD2308154693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1350 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Quotation marks indicate recorded passages—from the "Mayak Panorama" program]

[Text] Our observer Yuliy Semenov has fulfilled his promise, and here is what Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, told journalists after meeting Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin in the Kremlin.

[Semenov] First and foremost, how the participants of the present meeting assess the current situation in Abkhazia.

[Shevardnadze] "We expressed satisfaction at the fact that the first and fairly confident steps were made toward a cease-fire and in connection with the fact that conditions are being created for the final solution to the problem and the settlement of the conflict. We talked about the need to speed up the return of refugees. This is probably the most urgent problem now after it became possible to put an end to firing. We talked about the need to decide on organizational structures in order to guarantee a safe return of refugees. There about 140,000 refugees who should return to their homes."

[Semenov] Journalists then asked if there were any guarantees that this time accords would not be violated as it happened before.

[Shevardnadze] "First, we have acquired certain experience, true though, after making many errors, expensive errors for Georgia and for many peoples of North Caucasus. Now, this way or another, there is a better understanding between us, and we know what we can do and what we cannot do. We must organize our work in such a way as to prevent mistakes. The second and a very important factor is participation of the UN Security Council and of quite a large group of observers who are constantly monitoring the peace-making process together with us, together with Russian observers.

[Semenov] "Have you discussed the status of Abkhazia, and how is it to be examined in the future?

[Shevardnadze] "As for the status, the autonomous status and so on, there are no grounds for concern here. I stressed this many times in my speeches. As for the territorial and state structure, the political structure, the legal structure of the Georgian state, these issues will naturally be examined in line with the constitution, a draft of which we are currently drawing up. All issues will be resolved within the framework of this constitution."

[Semenov] Now two more excerpts from a conversation of Eduard Shevardnadze with journalists. The first excerpt was about preparations for a full-scale treaty between Russia and Georgia.

[Shevardnadze] "The treaty basis for the legal settlement of our relations has been prepared. We have agreed in principle that the final fifth round [of Georgia-Russia talks] will take place toward the end of August, and as we agreed earlier, and the signing will take place in Tbilisi, in September.

[Semenov] "What do you intend to discuss with Viktor Chernomyrdin?

[Shevardnadze] "Mainly economic problems. There are quite a lot of them. I think that we must finally decide on, settle our relations.

[Semenov] "Thank you."

Role of UN, CSCE Praised

LD2308202893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2005 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin met with visiting Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow on Monday to discuss bilateral relations.

Yeltsin and Shevardnadze expressed satisfaction with the truce in Abkhazia, stressing that it became possible thanks to the political will of sides involved and Russia's active mediatory role.

Yeltsin and Shevardnadze welcomed the participation of the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in the peace process and future talks on comprehensive settlement and stressed the importance of the implementation of the ceasefire agreement of July 27, 1993 by the warring sides. They called for creating conditions for the soonest possible return of refugees to their homes and restoration of the region's economic and social infrastructure, including transport communication.

Yeltsin emphasised the need for talks on comprehensive settlement of the conflict in Abkhazia and the Georgian-Ossetian conflict. Shevardnadze said this problem will be solved within the context of a new Georgian constitution the draft of which is in the works now.

Yeltsin confirmed that Russia stands for Georgia's territorial integrity and inviolability of its borders and is ready to maintain good neighbourly relations with it.

The two leaders reiterated their agreement reached on May 14, 1993 to speed up the establishment of a legal basis for relations between Russia and Georgia and hold by the end of August discussions between Russian and Georgian delegations so that the two republics could sign a treaty of friendship in September.

Yeltsin and Shevardnadze expressed the hope that the improvement of relations between Russia and Georgia in all spheres, including finances and economy, will become an important factor of stability and peace in the caucasus.

Commentator: Atmosphere 'Calmer'

LD2308134693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1208 GMT 23 Aug 93

[From the "Panorama" program; monitored in progress]

[Text] [Announcer] As we already know, there was a meeting in the Kremlin today between Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and Eduard Shevardnadze, the chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet. Our commentator Yuliy Semenov was in the Kremlin. I think he is now ready to tell us all about it.

[Semenov] With pleasure. The first thing I would like to say, and the journalists who were present drew attention to this fact, is that the atmosphere, even at the start of the meeting, was calmer than on previous occasions. After all, there is a cease-fire and let's hope that this will be a permanent cease-fire. This allowed for calmer analysis of the situation.

The first and main set of questions which were discussed at the meeting were naturally to do with the settlement of the Abkhazian conflict. We were told that a statement on the results of the meeting is to be published, but we can already judge its contents on the basis of the information we have picked up behind the scenes and in an interview given by Eduard Shevardnadze which we recorded and will play for listeners later.

The statement and documents from the meeting express satisfaction with the first steps taken on the cease-fire, the separation of the sides, and the exchange of prisoners. In the view of those participating in the meeting, this should clear the way for the resolution of other problems and for a definitive settlement of the confict. The general view is that the most urgent and acute problem is that of the return of refugees and ways to guarantee their security. The participants in the meeting have agreed on the basic principles for organizing this complex and sensitive process.

Naturally, observers and representatives of the international community will continue as before to take part in the settlement process. Participants in the meeting praised the help being given by the United Nations and the CSCE.

Georgia acknowledged the need to legalize the constitutional status of Abkhazia as a state within Georgia in the future. Nevertheless, I would caution against hasty conclusions about the results of today's meeting ....

[Announcer, interrupting] I was just about to say how pleased I was to hear this.

[Semenov] Let me explain what I mean. At the moment, I share your joy, but this process of settlement in Abkhazia is multifaceted. According to provisional information, there should be a meeting tomorrow between Boris Yeltsin and Stanislav Ardzinba. It is not just Georgia and Russia which need to reach agreement; all three need to agree among themselves.

[Announcer] First they agree in pairs, and then they all get together—with Boris Yeltsin as the unifying base.

[Semenov] Yes, this is where we see how the president copes with his dual position, and we can also see evidence here of a new role being marked out for Russia in the international community, on the territory of the foremer Union.

The second set of questions concerned bilateral relations. On a general level, economic problems were discussed and in a more specific way they will be the topic for discussion at today's meeting between the Georgian delegation and Viktor Chernomyrdin, the Russian prime minister. But the main thing that journalists have managed to glean is that a decisive step has been taken to regulate bilateral relations between Russia and Georgia. At the end of August there will be—let's see, I've already worked this out—the fifth round of talks between the delegations of Russia and Georgia. In September, a large-scale treaty on relations between Russia and Georgia will be ready for signing in Tbilisi and clearly, in connection with this, Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president, will visit Georgia.

Provisionally, I would like to conclude my report at this point.

[Announcer] I know that these meetings are always very difficult, but have you managed to record an interview with Shevardnadze?

[Semenov] Yes, as I've already said. Not just me, but all the journalists surrounded Shevardnadze and I also managed to record him. It is quite a long recording, but I think that listeners should be able to hear the main excerpts later.

[Announcer] Thank you. That was Yuliy Semenov.

Economic Problems Discussed

LD2308191293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1855 GMT 23 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Galkin]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin met with visiting Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow on Monday to discuss a wide a range of issues.

Meeting journalists after the talks, Chernomyrdin said the discussion focused mostly on economic cooperation, including prospects for mutual goods supplies in 1993 and 1994. The sides called for establishing joint ventures which would help solve many problems on the level of producers, while the role of the government would boil down to support for cooperation, the premier added.

In order to develop cooperation it is necessary to sign a respective agreement. Another factor is "stabilisation of the situation in Abkhazia," Chernomyrdin said.

Shevardnadze expressed satisfaction with the results of his meeting, adding that economic difficulties are the most acute problem in Georgia. He said the republic's economy is in a deep crisis, while its population is on the brink of famine. A severe shortage of electrical power only compounds the problem, the Georgian leader said.

Shevardnadze requested a Russian credit to buy energy carriers, grain, wood and other key products, according to members of the Georgian delegation. They said no specific sums were named.

Yeltsin, Ardzinba Agree On UN Role

LD2408103193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0945 GMT 24 Aug 93

[Text] Moscow, 24 Aug (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin received Vladislav Ardzinba, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia, in Moscow today.

During the conversation, satisfaction was expressed at the end of the bloodshed in Abkhazia. According to the Russian Federation president's press service, Vladislav Ardzinba said he was grateful for Russia's efforts as an intermediary, thanks to which an agreement was reached on a cease-fire in Abkhazia and a monitoring mechanism to see that it is observed.

The participants in the talks agreed that a guaranteed end to the war now depends to a great extent on the strict and total fulfillment of all the obligations of this agreement by the sides. They shared the view that this would also be helped by talks about a full-scale settlement in Abkhazia under UN auspices and with Russian assistance commencing as soon as possible.

Opinions were exchanged on the question of humanitarian aid to the population which has suffered as a result of the conflict and the restoration of the infrastructure which has been destroyed.

Yesterday Boris Yeltsin met with Eduard Shevardnadze, the head of Georgia.

Ardzinba 'Satisfied' With Talks

LD2408094393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0830 GMT 24 Aug 93

[Text] Observer Yevgeniy Shirokov has now contacted us from the Kremlin in Moscow. Over to him. Good day.

[Shirokov] Hello. A few minutes ago, here in the Kremlin, the meeting between Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and Abkhazian Supreme Soviet Chairman Vladislav Ardzinba ended. I remind you that yesterday, in the same place, Boris Nikolayevich had a meeting with Eduard Shevardnadze, head of the Republic of Georgia, about which Mayak reported in detail. Both these meetings can be looked at in the context of the action of the three-part agreement on a cease-fire in Abkhazia which was signed in Sochi on 27 July. The agreement became a reality thanks to the fact that both the sides in the conflict were able, in spite of existing considerable difficulties of various kinds, to make steps towards meeting one another, and also, of course, as a result of the constructive efforts of the Russian leadership towards the cessation of the bloodshed in Abkhazia and the settlement of the conflict, in the name of pacification.

So just now, coming out a short time ago to speak to journalists, Vladislav Ardzinba emphasized that very point, saying that indeed he was more than satisfied with the results of this meeting, and he stressed the particularly constructive role of Russia in seeing to it that this agreement on a cease-fire in Abkhazia became a reality. The most important thing to be addressed now, he said, is the implementation of the withdrawal of troops from the area of the former battles and the renewal of the normal activities of government bodies and the normal life of people in Abkhazia. He thanked Russia once again for her constructive role in facilitating the action of this agreement and pacification, and for the fact that Russia was rendering considerable humanitarian aid, including to those who were blockaded in Tkvarcheli and in other areas of Abkhazia.

War Games Based on Turkish Invasion of Armenia

PM2308142993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 93 p 2

[Sergey Chernykh report: "Little Men Playing War Games"]

[Text] Early in the morning of 17 August, combined units of the Republic of Turkey's Third Field Army supported by the Second Aviation Tactical Combined Unit invaded the territory of the Republic of Armenia without declaring war. The offensive is being carried out along the entire line of the Armenian-Turkish border. Five parachute assault groups have landed northwest of Lake Sevan. The Gyumrinskaya Motorized Infantry Division from the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus is mounting a defense.

Thus began the latest staff exercises of the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus.

Staff exercises are a game played by the top-level command. A bit like solitaire—the dealer never loses. There is no doubt that the three rather watered down divisions of the Russian group will win this time as well.

All this is very theoretical. In practice, however, everything is very different. The three divisions of the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus would be unable to repulse even the feeblest of aggressive actions by the Turks. Their armor would simply never get out of its base owing to a shortage of fuel. Field exercises stopped long ago for the same reason. Personnel are concerned with defending themselves against the military formations of friendly countries on whose territory they are stationed, and are struggling to survive in conditions of economic crisis. Military units are 20 percent below strength in the officer corps and more than 50 percent among privates.

Field officers say that, in the event of a real invasion by the Third Field Army, they will position their hardware and artillery around the perimeter of their bases and let the Turks pass by unhindered. It is not just a matter of a lack of fuel, inadequate hardware and munitions, and a shortage of personnel. The Russian servicemen do not even know the purpose of their presence on a foreign state's territory.

The most unthinkable battles can be played out on the map. This may be better than a war. Nobody gets killed, and officers are promoted to the next rank.

World Market for Older Russian Submarines Viewed

AU2408092093 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 19 Aug 93 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Who Will Get the Tired Submarines?"]

[Text] Only a few years ago, these submarines sailed into the ocean for combat duty. Today, they have been written off the Russian fleet and they "rest" in the port of a White Sea naval base. What can be done? The "cold war" is over and the United States is no longer a potential adversary. The military budgets and the weapons of the superpowers are being reduced.

However, it is possible that there will still be work for these "pensioners" of the USSR Naval Fleet and they will plunge to seven-foot depths beneath the keels of surface ships [as received]. Why? Partly because the United States does not build many submarines and will not be able to compete with Russia in selling submarines. There are many potential buyers, first and foremost in countries of the Persian Gulf and the Asian-Pacific Region. In view of the geographic situation of those countries that are archipelagos or peninsulas, it is not difficult to assume that they will put the main stress upon guaranteeing security from the sea. For example, at the end of last week, the second Iranian submarine purchased in Russia appeared in the Persian Gulf.

Kozyrev on Central Asian Policies

LD2308122693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Interview with Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev by Aleksandr Shkirando; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Shkirando] Andrey Vladimirovich, the recent events have demonstrated that the Tajik issue has gone beyond the boundaries of the CIS, and that neighboring Muslim countries, including Afghanistan and Pakistan, are already taking an active part in resolving this issue. What is therefore the strategy and the specific role of the Russian Federation in this issue? It is common knowledge that Russia is not quite indifferent to that region.

[Kozyrev] We are convinced that we cannot leave Tajikistan, because this is in fact a CIS border; it is also a CSCE border. Despite the fact that Tajikistan and other republics are in Asia, we insisted on their joining the European community, because this community imposes certain obligations in terms of human rights, including rights of the Russian-speaking population.

The states which are situated on the other side—the southern side, as it were—constitute the second cluster of our concerns. These are Pakistan, Iran, bilateral relations, but also Tajikistan and Afghanistan in this context. We have a double challenge here. We must cooperate with governments in the context of bringing stabilization to the region, and understanding on this issue has been achieved. Governments of the above states are, in principle, interested, because they appreciate that the source of the instability would, naturally, spread out to them as well. Frankly speaking, however, there are irresponsible forces, Islamic extremists, in these states, and these forces are forcing this wave of instability to move north—already Afghanistan is being torn apart by the ongoing war. Now they want to involve Tajikistan and so on.

The third area is the settlement inside Tajikistan itself. We support the lawful government, not as some kind of a neo-communist government, however, but as a legal government, elected by the Supreme Soviet; the government which is carrying out a great deal of work to stabilize the situation. At the same time we do not shy away from the fact that we have recommended to this government to carry out policies of national dialogue. This means that there should be dialogue with opposition forces—not of course with those who are shooting now, but practically with all opposition forces. There should be a search for some kind of national consensus; state institutions on the one hand and democratic institutions on the other should be strengthened. Other methods, like using force alone or relying on their own or Russian or CIS armed forces, will not bring about the solution of this problem; there would be a new Afghanistan.

Therefore there is only one solution: the firm rebuff of extremist forces and cooperation with all those who can promote stability. [video shows correspondent interviewing Kozyrev, both captioned, in an office setting]

Japanese Reaction to Chernomyrdin Remarks Viewed

PM2308155593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 93 p 1

[Nikolay Tsvetkov article under "Week's Issues" rubric: "Is Some One of You Not Bluffing? Esconced in Tokyo, Our Correspondent Nikolay Tsvetkov Seeks the Answer"]

[Text] It has, you might say, already become a tradition: When they find themselves close to Japan, high Russian officials do not miss an opportunity, figuratively speaking, to spit in its direction. The Russian head of government also did not fail to do so. While on the island of Iturup, Sakhalin Oblast, Viktor Chernomyrdin declared (if I cite Japanese newspapers, which, in turn, cite INTERFAX): "We have no need of foreign land, but neither will we give up our own to anyone. No territorial question exists between Russia and Japan."

The premier stipulated that this was his personal viewpoint, but since he was not among his circle of [personal] friends but on an official trip, his statements naturally attracted the immediate attention of the Japanese—primarily of those endowed with official powers.

The Japanese Foreign Ministry responded quickly yet cautiously—in the sense that Chernomyrdin is known for his conservative views and his viewpoint reflects the sentiments only of a section of Russians, even though it causes "extreme regret" in Japan. Higher instances have not yet responded in any way, but they have obviously pondered seriously on the matter.

The journalistic fraternity comments on the occurrence with professional sarcasm: These are fine greetings for the Russian premier to have sent to his colleague Morihiro Hosokawa, who has only just taken up his post.

It is, of course, possible to provide a human explanation for our premier's foreign policy sally. The uncertainty over the future of the South Kurils prevents the people who live there from living and working tranquilly. But it is very difficult for the Japanese to imagine that the Russian prime minister would surrender to emotion and say something that runs counter to the Kremlin's "general line." Particularly as the words of Anatoliy Krasikov, the president's press secretary, to the effect that it is unrealistic to implement the 1956 Soviet-Japanese declaration at once echoed from Moscow. The declaration, let us recall, recorded the possibility of the transfer of the islands of Habomai and Shikotan to Japan after the conclusion of a peace treaty with the USSR.

Thus, our Japanese partners have some grounds for noting a further change in our "general line."

I will not judge whether this is for good or bad, but only that this change has been demonstrated at the very height of the preparations for the Japanese prime minister's program speech. It will be delivered next week, and it will most likely reflect the new trends in Russian-Japanese relations.

Georgiy Kunadze, Russian Federation deputy minister of foreign affairs, will arrive in Tokyo just a little later for working consultations, above all on President Yeltsin's visit due in October. It is customarily thought in Japan that Kunadze is not one of those Russians who unequivocally share the stand expressed by Chernomyrdin on Iturup. Will the diplomat succeed in dispelling the onerous fog which has shrouded bilateral relations? Still more interesting, will he be empowered to do so? For it is no coincidence that certain Japanese commentators advance the version that the Russian premier's harsh statements are aimed at provoking harshness in return and thereby creating a pretext for a further postponement of the Russian president's visit to Japan.

Rutskoy Holds News Conference, Assails Power Group

LD2308224393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1935 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Report on news conference given by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy in Moscow on 23 August; Rutskoy's remarks recorded]

[Excerpts] [Rutskoy, addressing journalists] Now about the essence of what is going on. First. The present group which is in power is trying to replace the diktat of the Communist Party which existed in our country prior to August 1991—and it was the leading and guiding party—with a diktat of a higher degree, the diktat of democrats. Their ideology is the same—those who are not with us are against us.

Thus, a fundamental split is taking shape in society into our own people and our enemies. The president is becoming a hostage to ideologists of the group in power, thus moving further away from the people who trusted him to govern the country. Instead of looking for political compromises and national accord, we are being offered a war for a dictatorial constitution. Instead of setting up universally accepted mechanisms for interaction between the president and the parliament and among the president, the parliament, and the government, we are being offered the following formula: The soviets are incompatible with democracy and therefore they should be destroyed. There must be only one conclusion—to bring down the system of people's power.

This is absolutely wrong, and each day more and more people are becoming aware of the purpose behind bringing down the system of people's power. Instead of a comprehensible program of economic reforms, we are being offered an experiment in the style of foreign schools which, by the way, has never been implemented. As a result, the people were pushed into extreme poverty and deprived of their rights.

Second. I always say that if you want to achieve results in politics, explain to an individual what you want from him and what he will gain from it. Ask people in the streets if they know what is in store for them, and you will get the answer, no, we do not know. The absence of comprehensible guidelines, of an idea common to the whole nation and what is more important, the results of reforms is creating an atmosphere of chaos and uncertainty without prospects.

Third. The moral degradation which is taking place in society against the background of all these processes is turning into a colossal crime wave, corruption at all levels of power and the governing apparatus. In essence, those who are in charge of property redistribution have power. The plundering of state property is taking place before our very eyes under the pretext of pseudo-privatization, liberalization of prices, and liberalization of foreign economic activity. Those who are controlling the mafia structure and those who are cooperating with them are better-off. Thus, political intolerance multiplied by irresponsibility of the executive power and open neglect of Russia's future and the future of its people have brought the present rulers of the country and their radical-democratic ideologists to a threshold beyond which one can clearly see the widest possible public protest and mistrust.

And a general strike in Russia, a protest, has become a reality today, and there is nothing to be surprised about here. In such an atmosphere in this area there is more and more temptation to break one's opponents by forceful, anti-constitutional actions. The main thing is to shirk responsibility for crimes which have been committed before the power, before the state, before the country and before the people.

The president's circle has chosen slander and falsification as one method of suppressing political opponents. At the recent session of the inter-departmental commission and during the subsequent news conference, accusations were openly directed against the Russian vice president and the procurator general. I was accused of being involved with an account in a Swiss bank, with complicity in the activities of the Renaissance Fund, which has allegedly inflicted great harm on the country, and propaganda is being put out regarding personal indiscretion in the building of a dacha. I can say quite plainly that all this has absolutely no substance at all.

[Announcer] Following his brief statement Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy replied to journalists' questions. Among other things, the press tried to get to the bottom of the matter as to whether Rutskoy had an account in a Swiss bank and property abroad or not.

[Rutskoy] I don't have any property abroad. Surely lawyers are aware that such an expression as "involvement with an account" simply does not exist in practice. Either this account exists or it does not. Therefore, what Makarov said in summing up yesterday—but what, strictly speaking, is he saying?

[Announcer] At the same time, Aleksandr Rutskoy hinted at the dubious nature of the source of income of some of his opponents.

[Rutskoy] Look, you see, everything is patently obvious. As far as SEABECO is concerned, ask Makarov. You can ask Makarov, too, about the activities of Yakubovskiy, how this young man of 28 has a real estate which is valued at tens of millions of dollars. He says he has a wife who is some kind of super-star, a photographer's model. But, you know, I consulted with him and asked him is it possible for a photographer's model of that age to earn such sums? Well, I heard nothing about any such photographer's model. Is it possible that she is earning money by some other means? Well, you understand, to have such a real estate is simply—I'm not one to talk about how much other people have in their pocket. In no way. Well, give me some idea of how one can earn that sort of money and I, too, would try to earn it that way. [amusement in hall] Well, no, not in that way. [laughter] To have such real estate.

[Announcer] In citing data about corruption—in his words—at the top, the vice president once again stated that of 55 facts which he had made known at the April session of the Supreme Soviet, 80 percent had been confirmed. Either criminal proceedings had been taken up or the procurator's office had tabled protests on these cases. Rutskoy also stated that on Thursday he intends to bring a civil action to the courts against IZVESTIYA, the new daily newspaper ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, and Russian Television. In all there will be 10 statements of claim against private individuals or legal bodies.

[Rutskoy] And now I will read out interesting documents. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Journalists asked about Rutskoy's attitude to President Yeltsin and whether he opposes the presidency in Russia as such.

[Rutskoy] Presidential authority is acceptable for such a state as Russia, it is acceptable and necessary in Russia. This is my attitude to presidential authority. [passage omitted] But if the mortality rate in the country is 3.5 times higher than the birth rate, this is called a crime against one's own people because the nation is dying. And my attitude to the president of Russia follows from this.

[Announcer] To a question about the evolution of the vice president's political views, Rutskoy said:

[Rutskoy] I am not a spineless creature. I have said more than once that when the president invited me to stand in elections together with him, I refused at first. I was asked to study the election program thoroughly. I did that. And if you read the program you will see that there is not a single point in it which could be described as unacceptable for our society. And also, I was on the same ticket with the president not as a single unit but as a coalition of forces representing the interests of various groups of society. You know that the president represented the Democratic Russia whereas I, after all, support socialist methods of production and development of the economy but such ones which make provisions for the private sector, market relations and so on. So on this issue, therefore, I have not changed allegiances.

I have had great relations with Khasbulatov from the our very first meeting. And I will tell you that one can work with this man. None of us is safeguarded against mistakes. Of course, Ruslan Imranovich, perhaps, makes mistakes but I repeat that one can work with this man. At least, he is consistent.

[Announcer] In conclusion, Rutskoy assured journalists that he sees the holding of simultaneous elections of president and parliament as a task of primary importance now, and then to adopt a constitution. And law and order in the country will triumph only after the law has become the supreme value for all citizens of Russia, he believes.

Further on Rutskoy's Remarks

LD2308170993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1518 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Report by correspondent Igor Ternyavskiy on news conference given by Vice President Aleskandr Rutskoy in Moscow on 23 August—Rutskoy's remarks recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Let's start from the very beginning.

[Ternyavskiy] I would like to point out that the meeting [between Rutskoy and journalists] was very badly organized. I do not know whose fault it was, I only hope that it was not the vice president's fault.

I never thought that I would have to queue up for half an hour, together with my colleagues from various mass media bodies, to undergo a security check. To be honest, I never expected that so many people would actually turn up to listen to esteemed Aleksandr Vladimirovich [Rutskoy]. On the other hand, recent allegations that the vice president was involved in all sorts of shady dealings have of course evoked certain interest. So, the news conference began. Rutskoy was very calm. He knew exactly what was expected of him, and devoted his speech mainly to corruption in the top echelons of power, confusion in the economy, and serious errors in the export-import policy.

[Announcer] Did he say anything new on that? He has been dealing with this for a long time.

[Ternyavskiy] Nothing new, in principle. He devoted his speech to those three aspects. There were some new details, but I will dwell on them later. Rutskoy believes that Mafia structures are currently fighting for power. This is not the first time he has spoken about this. The vice president then gave his definition of real, in his view, democracy and spoke about a clash with [lawyer Andrey] Makarov, and problems he encountered while dealing with some Russian publications, as he sees it.

[Rutskoy] I understand democracy to mean equal rights in the eyes of the law and equal rights of citizens. That is why I have never divided people up into categories—officials, journalists, vice president, or the president—and the public is already making its views known regarding the conduct of the people involved. The current state of play is that I have met a number of lawyers, and now a number of publications, juridical and private persons, who say the vice president will be prosecuted. I can state, as a preliminary bit of information, that action will be brought against the ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, IZVESTIYA, NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA, and Russian TV's Andrey Karaulov. These are the first four suits out of the 10 suits or so to be brought before the courts over the next 10 days. Currently, lawyers are doing the necessary to finalize the suits, and all the relevant materials. As for what was said at the news conference, that documents will be handed over to the Moscow Procuracy, I of course, became interested in one document that Makarov was all the time waving about in the air, so to speak. I telephoned the procurator for the city of Moscow and asked: Have you been handed any documents, so that one can acquaint oneself with them, because I am being accused. Nothing was handed over, he said. The same is the case with the Constitutional Court. Then there is the Interdepartmental State Commission—after all, it is high time for Kalmykov, at his age and with his experience as a lawyer, it is high time for him to know that the Interdepartmental Commission has no right to take action in the Constitutional Court, all the more so when matters of conduct are at stake. As for the vice president's activities—yes—but in this case, such documents are forwarded to the Supreme Soviet or its Presidium.

[Ternyavskiy] To sum up, according to the vice president, he is not involved in any dubious deals. On the contrary, [Vladimir] Shumeyko, and other democrats bear the full blame. Incidentally, Rutskoy emphasized that 80 percent of all materials that are being stored in the famous and mysterious suitcases, have been checked and fully confirmed. Investigation of these materials is now under way, which the suspects—that is, for instance, Shumeyko and Poltoranin—try to delay in all possible ways. The vice president also talked, naturally, about stability in the society. This is how stability should look, according to him:

[Rutskoy] Stability in any society is stable economy. How can a society be stable when it stops producing goods? When capital acquired by brokerage has completely outdistanced capital acquired by production? When crime, corruption, and bribery have already reached such heights that it is even difficult to grasp this situation! Think for yourselves. Now, this pseudo-privatization is taking place. People will realize that they have been ripped off. Look where vouchers go, to various commercial organizations. It means that rights of ownership are being transferred to commercial structures. Everyone should see clearly, however, that those who own means of production also have a grip on the power. People will see this for themselves in the near future. This is, obviously, pseudo-privatization, going against the interests of society or the people.

Let me tell you this. In the last month, I have been to many places: Volonezh, Lipets, Blagoveshchensk, Khabarovsk, Komsomolsk-na-Amure, Vladivistok, Belgorod, Kursk, Orel, and Smolensk. These were where my trips took me last month. I must say that public opinion is such today that it is different from all sociological polls shown in the Itogi program. It is different from them. I do not know where these opinions are polled and researched. I will say to you, that the situation is such today that people have started to see clearly, to understand what may happen to the country, and, eventually, to them. We are on the brink of an all-Russian strike, an all-Russian protest, against the free-for-all that our country has become. Instead of getting down to real business, hysteria is being fanned more and more.

[Ternyavskiy] So it is evident that the vice president does not like many things we can see around us in Russia. With this in mind, one is tempted to ask whether Rutskoy himself is doing anything. This is what the vice president replied when asked [this question] by journalists.

[Rutskoy] I am studying public opinion, and, together with a group of specialists who share my views, we are drawing up an all-Russia program for overcoming the economic crisis and carrying out further reforms. Whatever our wishes, the time will come when it will become possible to implement it, since we just cannot carry on living as we are living now. This is what I am doing now.

[Ternyavskiy] The program Rutskoy referred to will appear in its final form in January 1994. It is then that conclusions will have to be drawn as to how realistic it is, and how convincing the recipes it contains are. To conclude, some more thoughts from the vice president on the institution of the presidency in general, on the position of the military in society, and on his own plans and ideas for the near future.

[Rutskoy] As for my relations with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, I have said on many occasions that I believe I took the proper stand when I defended the interests of the majority I do not know who will say thank you to the president of Russia for what happened to our economy. I really do not know. Maybe [Andrey] Karaulov, or [Andrey] Makarov, or someone else like Shumeyko. As for me, I cannot say thank you to him, because the people of the country have been thrown into destitution.

Former U.S. President Bush is a former military man. General Hosni Mubarak is a military man, and so on. Oh yes, Dwight Eisenhower too, and there are many more. So in the U.S., pluralism was not breached, and it will not be breached in Russia either if someone with a military background is elected, or rather appears in the power structures.

What is the way out? A law on presidential power in the Russian Federation has to be adopted. This can be done by the Congress. Then a law on the Russian Federation Parliament has to be adopted. This can be done by the Congress. A law on presidential elections can be adopted by the Congress too, as well as a law on parliamentary elections. Then elections should be called. There you have it, the only way out of the situation.

Rutskoy Interviewed on Corruption in Government

LD2308210193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1445 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Studio interview with Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy by announcer Nina Berdnikova; from the "Parliamentary Hour" program—live]

[Text] [Berdnikova] Good evening. This is "Parliamentary Hour" live. Today our film crew was not admitted to the news conference given by Vice President Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy. We met with him here in the Supreme Soviet and invited him to appear on our program. Aleksandr Vladimirovich, what have you to say to us?

[Rutskoy] You asked me to say something.

[Berdnikova] Yes, we did ask you. But what would you like to say to us?

[Rutskoy] It is quite natural that you were denied admittance. That is, there is a selection process regarding those who can be let in, and those who cannot admitted to a news conference given by the vice president. I have repeatedly talked about that. Everyone, including the mass media, have already seen for themselves that there is selective admittance of representatives of the press when an exclusive interview is given, or a news conference held.

You know, I was asked an interesting question at this news conference: Aleksandr Vladimirovich, are you not tired of all that is going on in the Russian Federation. Surely it is time to understand that society is tired of all that, too, and people want one thing, that everyone should get on with things? You know, I answered quite simply: Surely I have been saying this for two years now. I have been saying this for two years beginning in December. I have been saying, let's get down to things. You see, stability in society depends on stability in the economy. No matter how we look at the situation, irrespective of what changes we propose making to it, especially to the system of power, the situation will not change unless we deal with all the economic processes, the current economic process, and all the more so the economic reforms, in the interests of society and in the interests of people.

The subjects of corruption and crime have now started to take on some sort of political hue. You know, it looks something like that children's game when they call someone a fool, and he retorts that the other person is the fool. So an incomprehensibly aimless game is starting. In this context, I shall cite the words of an ancient philosopher. It is put remarkably well: To struggle against theft, against the Mafia by generating theft and the Mafia, is equivalent to the thief beating himself for stealing." That's fine, isn't it?.

[Berdnikova] Yes, that is interesting.

[Rutskoy] This is roughly what the situation is like in our country. That is, we are struggling against theft, the Mafia, bribes, and corruption by means of engendering the Mafia, bribe-taking, and theft. Then again, there is another splendid quote. Literally quite recently in the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA of 21 August, a small article was published expressing the view of former Justice Minister Nikolay Fedorov, who left that post, not because he was unsuited to the post, but because he is a person who has a conscience, a conscience that he could not go on sweeping aside because something today is acquiring, or rather is occurring, is acquiring precisely a regular nature, it is an aim in itself. Lies and deceit have become an everyday phenomenon. Listen to what he has to say: A marked turn-about has taken shape in the policy of the president of Russia from law-based principles, to unlawful action and to methods of political repressions. He is right. Take a look. In spite of his verbal assertions of his adherence to a law-based state, in actual fact the president has been increasingly under the thumb of those who proposed finishing off political opponents, suppressing political opponents once and for all, opening the flood gates of repression. Attempts to do this have constantly been undertaken.

Evidence of this is the recent news conference of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. Formerly it was panel of three judges and now there are four, headed by the justice minister. Regarding Makarov, I do not know if such a post exists, whether it exists in the constitution. The lawyers in our country cannot tell us who that is. What kind of monitoring administration is Kotenkov's, and in general what it is, what kind of organization is it? Or what is the president's legal administration, when there is a Justice Ministry. What kind of organization is that? They make statements of indictment, thereby discrediting the state's officials in the eyes of the public—the vice president, the prosecutor general, incriminating them in something comprehensible, something simply fabricated, that is completely unfounded, has no grounds whatsoever. It is no accident that he read out that point. Here it is, you see: A marked turn about has taken shape in the policy of the president of Russia from law-based principles, to illegal action and methods of political repressions.

I have information that Deputy Chairman Volkov, or rather the deputy head of the president's administration, when Makarov was also head of the administration for security, was essentially engaged in blackmail and conducting work with the officers of the Security Service, instructing them to search for materials that compromise officials—the prosecutor general, the Supreme Soviet chairman, the vice president. Even during that conversation on 24 July, Makarov frankly told the security officers that the issue of removing Barannikov from his post had already been decided. That is political repression for you. If they had wished to deal with fighting corruption, that would have taken a completely different nature.

OK, let me read you another document. I have received a statement from the Secretariat of Government Chairman Chernomyrdin. It is a statement by Minister Glazyev, Russian Federation foreign economic relations minister. Just take a look at what he is writing to Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin, and I will not read it in full, just excerpts: However, the policy I have consistently been pursuing to step up control over the observance of laws as they pertain to foreign economic activity—[Rutskoy digresses, to come back to the quote later on]—and you will recall that I have given examples of how much hard currency seeps abroad through foreign economic activity and at present even the world press names this figure—between 30 billion [currency not specified] and 35 billion a year—after all, you cannot take such sums abroad in a briefcase, or a bag, that is to say, a mechanism of one kind or another is needed; that is to say, the state has created such conditions, in which the situation simply resembles a one way street, everything flows out of Russia, but nothing comes back.

This is taking place in a situation in which the external debt stands at 70 billion. To say nothing of the fact that courts have already stepped in to close the government's accounts in foreign banks. We are even unable to settle the interest payable for credits. So, Glazyev writes: However, the policy I have consistently been pursuing to step up control over the observance of laws as they pertain to foreign economic activity, and to reorganize the foreign trade structures to put things to rights, especially in the area of military and technical cooperation and raw materials trading, has, of late, begun to evoke a fierce resistance on the part of not only commercial structures, but also representatives of a number of influential structures of power. This resistance has become an open witch hunt against me, the minister, that is, and the ministry's top echelon, precisely at a time when we have gone over to the practical implementation of an automated system of monitoring the exports of strategically important raw materials, and to reorganizing military and technical cooperation. Unfortunately, the Control Board and the commission under the chairmanship of Kalmykov have become the instrument of this witch hunt.

Further: A campaign has got off the ground to discredit the activities of the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry. It has been organized by Shumeyko, with the participation of (Sidorkov) and (Privnyuk). Striving to have me released from my duties, Shumeyko did not disdain to violate the procedures adopted in the government, nor to discredit the image of the country as far as foreign policy is concerned, nor to trample underfoot the elementary norms of morality. I have expressed my views with regard to the activities of these organizations in a letter to the Russian Federation president. In the same way in which I, too, once wrote to the president and reported on what was taking place. It is obvious to me that the real background to the witch hunt against me is the struggle for power among the Mafia structures that have sensed that the activities of the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry, to set foreign economic activities to rights, have come to threaten their own interests. That is why I am resigning.

This is what Glazyev writes. You know, when Rutskoy is accused, it is said that Rutskoy is cobbling together some kind of a compromising case. OK, why is it, then, that Glazyev writes the same things? Why is it that former Justice Minister Fedorov is talking about it? Why is it that the former chairman of the Control Board under the president, Boldyrev, spoke of this? Where are they now? Why is it that Barannikov started to talk about it, and where is he now? Let me tell you—people must be forced to observe the law. But if Poltoranin and Shumeyko are invited by the bodies in charge of the investigation, in order to explain whether some documents are legally valid, and these people fail to turn up and completely ignore the procurator general and the president, subsequently accuses the procuracy and the procurator general of all the violations of the law in our Russian Federation at present—well, thank God that they did not say that the vice president is to blame for everything.

I have no doubt that such things will be said. Yes, they will, indeed. Let me tell you—you recall how many times it was said: We will take Rutskoy to court, he has insulted the honor and dignity—incidentally, I did not accuse anyone in my Supreme Soviet speech, I gave information. Fifty-five cases—80 percent confirmed. Three months have now passed. What about the investigation? Especially as the government itself and the presidential structures are impeding the investigation which takes place in the interests of the law. Well, over three months, 80 percent, that is to say, 55 facts have been confirmed; that is to say the procuracy either started criminal proceedings, or asked for a judicial review.

Look, listen to what Makarov is saying, look at what Ilyushenko is saying, look at what Kalmykov is saying: Rutskoy's involvement in the account. I have consulted, I invited lawyers and consulted with them: Is there such a notion as involvement in an account? They say no. They say, either there is an account, or there is not an account. So, when Justice Minister Kalmykov says the vice president is involved—excuse me, I have to doubt his experience as a lawyer. What have I done now? I have now reached agreement on handling matters in court with a group of quite well-known lawyers.

You know, I have constantly been silent up until now, I have put up with all this mockery, blatant and open insults, and now I have agreed with leading lawyers, well-known lawyers, three of them have already received the appropriate authorization from me for conducting matters in the courts. They are the lawyers Yuriy Ivanov, Aleksandr Kligman, and Dmitriy Shteynberg, and another two lawyers who expressed a desire to help and take part in this case, and they have already begun work. Now I can tell you that four legal actions are currently being prepared, against the newspaper ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, the newspaper IZVESTIYA, a new daily newspaper, and also Russian Television and the television journalist Andrey Karaulov; proceedings are continuing there.

As far as the news conference is concerned, legal action is also being prepared. That is, the one that was held last time, because, excuse me, it could also be said tomorrow that I am involved in a murder or something else.

You see, no one is dealing with law and order today. Let us look at the constitution again, what is the procuracy?

It is a supervisory body. The fight against crime and corruption should be handled by the Security Ministry, the Foreign Intelligence Service, and the Internal Affairs Ministry. To whom are these structures subordinate? They are directly subordinate to the president. Let us ask ourselves this question: Who, today, has been investigating the volume of weapons that are wandering around the country while hundreds of thousands of people are dying? Who has been investigating it? On what basis were weapons handed over to Moldova? That is tanks, aircraft, automatic firearms—on what basis? A presidential decree? No! A resolution by the Supreme Soviet? No! Who handed them over? On what basis? You know the results. You remember what happened in the Dniester region and how many people died.

Let us take Georgia—on what basis and by what decision were weapons handed over? You know the results—Abkhazia, South Ossetia, hundreds of thousands of killed. Then let us go further, Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia, Azerbaijan—on what basis, again, were weapons handed over? And so on and so on. In Chechnya, that is the territory of the Russian Federation: On what basis were 100 tanks handed over to Dudayev, and about 80 pieces of aviation equipment, and 47,000 automatic firearms? Then, on what basis did Khizha give instructions for the allocation of 600 automatic firearms to North Ossetia? Where did these weapons come from? Who was dealing with this matter? What is this? It is the most terrible thing, it is a crime against mankind. Again, hundreds of thousands of people are dying, and no one carries responsibility. Has anyone investigated this matter? No!

Look at what is happening in foreign economic activity. We owe 70 billion dollars, and the debt is constantly rising. If we look at the export of raw materials—exports have not fallen, on the contrary, they are growing. Where is this money going? Look, do you remember how they all shouted, foaming at the mouth—20 percent of gross national income goes on maintaining the Armed Forces! But it is not going there now, look, the Army is destroyed, there is no Army. Then, do you remember how they shouted at the military industrial complex—it is eating up the bulk of gross national income! Virtually the whole of the military industrial complex is at a standstill. Where is the money? Where is the money for the raw materials?

Look at what Glazyev writes: He says quite clearly that as soon as he tried to bring order into the system of foreign economic activity, and create a system of currency and export control—and you remember what he said in his speech at the Supreme Soviet: It took two years to set up the currency and export control service. Where are the resources going? Where is the money going? He cites names, specific names: Kalmykov, Shumeyko, (Sidorkov), (Pivnyukov), Shumeyko.

[Berdnikova] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, it is not the first time these names have been cited, but nothing is happening.

[Rutskoy] But it is not that nothing is happening. The point is that I am not interfering in the investigatory bodies, I do not have the right. As chairman of the Interdepartmental Commission at that time, I handed over all these documents to the procurator general, and an investigation is under way there, I do not have the right to interfere there. But sometimes I am invited, an investigator comes to me and says, Aleksandr Vladimirovich, we have got to sort this out, we do not understand it.

Why is it that I, the vice president, meet them, while the deputy prime minister—although we do not have such a post, we have deputy chairman of the government under the Constitution, they have thought up deputy prime minister—does not appear at the investigation bodies, and does not give evidence on one case or another? Why is it that Poltoranin ignores it? Because anything goes. If the president can already be boldly entered in the Guinness Book for violating the law and the Constitution—because not a single president in the world has allowed himself so many violations of the law and Constitution—then why should a deputy chairman of the government observe the law if the president does not? This is where all this stems from, and so on and so on.

So, at the news conference today this whole issue was examined in broad terms. Of course, the journalists were waiting for a sensation, that I would show, again, some documents or other, and they even tried to accuse me of this: You are just like Makarov. I said: I have not shown anything, I am just saying, placing on record, what is happening today. I bear responsibility for my words, because I am a constitutional official, the vice president. Who Makarov is, I do not know. There is no such office either in the Constitution or the law on the government. But what is happening, just look, this is just a nightmare.

Yakubovskiy is a general purpose informer, that is how he can be described, because look—someone, at the end of the day, is using his information, all this information has still to be checked out. But unlike those who make use of this, I, for example, have originals of documents confirming his real estate abroad, it is valued at tens of millions of dollars. It is true, he says—I have a very rich wife, I think he said—photo model. I have consulted, I have asked: Can a photo model earn money like that? More to the point, I do not know of any such photo model.

At any rate, we read the magazines. Well, you know, not every millionaire or billionaire in the United States can afford to have houses costing 5 million dollars. But this young man, an immigrant from Russia, who immigrated in September 1992, does have such real estate.

Has Makarov asked himself: How was the attempt on Makarov staged? In the conversation with Stepankov in Zurich, Makarov and Yakubovskiy were sitting together and talking with Stepankov, that is, they were deliberately leading him to say something they could latch on to. Who needs this Makarov? Nearly every day an attempt is made on Yakubovskiy. Now there is an attempt on Fedotov, made at four in the morning when there was no one in the office. Who needs him? What attempts? This is all so transparent. They violate the border, they bring Yakubovskiy, the Frontier Guards try to find out his identity, the Presidential Guard separates the Frontier Guards, they bring him into the country, then he somehow turns up in Armenia, he ends up in Toronto, and Zurich, through Turkey—it is simply laughable! I am telling you, it is just laughable. It is all anything goes. Then, when Makarov waved this document about, he says, these documents have been registered at a notary's office in Toronto. If only he had not said where, because the whole world already knows that Toronto has become Yakubovskiy's patrimony. If I were the Canadian authorities, I would expel this activist from Canada, so that he cannot disgrace Canada. There is nothing left for him but to return here, and answer before the law for his actions, and for the lies in making allegations against state officials.

I wonder, is the next adviser to the first deputy prime minister also vanishing abroad? Now they are looking for the next one—why have they all chosen to emigrate? They have all chosen to emigrate. When we start to investigate why they have vanished, real estate is again registered abroad, a house, and a nice house, excuse me, in the name of their mother-in-law, or mother, that is now being investigated, but again, there are documents, and the person is vanishing, and again, an adviser to Shumeyko, for some reason.

[Berdnikova] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, there is after all confidentiality of deposits. We have always been told that our banks and savings banks actually can disclose how many rubles you have got, thousands or millions. But foreign banks protect this confidentiality religiously. I do not understand—how could this become known to everyone?

[Rutskoy] I will tell you, this is a fiction of the first water, you see, a falsification, an elementary falsification. The point is that I have a bad habit, I never sign anything until I have read it.

[Berdnikova] That is a good habit.

[Rutskoy] Sometimes people get offended with me, but I say, no, first I will read it. They say: Look, what a bureaucrat, and so on. But what do you mean bureaucrat—I have got to sign it! I put everything into a computer system so as to keep track of it afterward. We have been through absolutely everything on the computer system that I entrusted to the head of the secretariat, to see perhaps, if I really did sign something? But no, there was nothing of the kind, nothing of the kind.

Then, what is involvement in an account, to which millions of dollars were being transferred, as he said, and set up such an umbrella, a social development foundation, the Seabeco Firm. I have not seen (?Birshteyn) more than about three times, and by the way, (?Birshteyn) helped clear up the problem on the conflict in the Dniester region, together with Viktor Pavlovich Barannikov and (?Birshteyn), the three of us flew to Moldova in (?Birshteyn's) aircraft, because I was prohibited to fly across the borders, across Ukraine, and so on. We went by another route, but we resolved the problem. More than that, some commercial deals—for God's sake, I am not a businessman, I am a state official. The only thing I can do is to ask that a matter be studied and resources be found. Then, when a technical and economic feasibility study is presented, when all this has been substantiated, again on the basis of the law, only then could I issue an instruction.

But look, there is a mass of these documents, and if we take government resolutions for 1992 and 1993, we will see how many commercial structures are exempted from export duty, from taxes, from obligatory currency sales—this is all in direct violation of the laws of the Russian Federation. Let us look who signs them—Yeltsin, the president of Russia, the prime minister—at that time it was Gaydar, Shumeyko's signature, and so on, Shokhin, and so on. No one bears responsibility, and no one exercises supervision. So, you know, I have absolutely no doubts, in the sense that to defend my honor and dignity, I shall not engage in such methods as are used by Makarov and Ilyushenko. I have no intention of lying to anyone. Why do that, for God's sake? There is now an agreement with the lawyers, and I think the court will show who was right and who was wrong.

[Berdnikova] How long could the case last?

[Rutskoy] That, again, all depends on those against whom the action is being brought, again, they will not appear in court. But we will see. The main thing at present is to bring the action, this is all now being prepared, and I intend in the course of this month, we will not manage it in August, but by the middle of September, I think there will be about 10-15 legal actions. So, concerning the investigation, on the fight against crime and corruption that is currently being carried out by the procuracy, and the special commission set up by the Supreme Soviet, I have no doubt that findings will be provided on all these areas, and actually in accordance with the law. No one is going to exploit it in political interests, I guarantee this here.

[Berdnikova] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, I presume these are the main issues that you covered at the news conference, and probably our journalists now will not have any reason to be sorry that they were not let in, that they did not get into your news conference. Thank you for coming to us, and telling us everything in such detail. I would like to see you, or rather, we all want to see all of you in our studio more often.

[Rutskoy] Thank you. I have just one wish—to sort this out as quickly as possible and really get down to work, down to the job. Enough of dramatizing the situation. We are on the eve of an all- Russian strike, and it is due any time now. Why? Because enterprises are coming to a standstill, living conditions are such that it is impossible for a man even to exist, let alone live. So, God grant that all this ends as soon as possible.

[Berdnikova] Thank you.

[Rutskoy] Thank you.

Yeltsin Accepts Fedotov Resignation

LD2308174393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] We have just received the following report: President Yeltsin has accepted Mikhail Fedotov's resignation. He has been relieved of the post of minister of press and information because of his transfer to another post, the press service of the head of the Russian state reports.

Fedotov on Reasons Behind Shooting at Press Ministry

LD2308172093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1708 GMT 23 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Olga Kostromina]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Russian Minister of the Press and Information Mikhail Fedotov said the attack on his ministry last Sunday by an unidentified assailant who fired several shots at his office could be a revenge for his anti-corruption policy.

Speaking at a news conference in Moscow on Monday, Fedotov said he had three versions of possible motives for the attack. "First, it could be an act of hooliganism which has nothing to do with my activities. On the other hand, it could be considered as some sort of a 'black mark' in response to my offer of resignation for political reasons and calls for an all-Russia strike of journalists. There is a third variant—the attack could have been a reaction to the examination, launched on my initiative, of some organisations whose activities bring one to think about corruption. For example, one such organisation went ablaze soon after the examination was launched. The damage is estimated at 150 million rubles," Fedotov said.

He said police officers, who have been working in the building of the Ministry of the Press and Information for two days, have found some evidence. But until the investigation is over, these facts should be kept secret, the minister added.

Asked about the reaction of President Boris Yeltsin to his possible resignation, Fedotov said that he himself "would like to know his (Yeltsin's) reaction and the reaction of the government." As for rumours about his possible replacement on this post by Mikhail Poltoranin, who now heads the Federation Information Centre, the minister replied that "as a lawyer I am used to trust only facts, not rumours."

Yeltsin Performance at Press Conference Criticized

PM2408093193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Aug 93 First Edition p 1

["Press Conference" report by Olga Kondratyeva: "Politics Is Not a Tennis Court"]

[Text] The second anniversary of the abortive August coup on 19 August was marked by two important events: free travel on the capital's subway and the president's meeting with journalists.

Having read from a piece of paper a speech to mark the second anniversary of the triumph of democracy, the president moved on to the most difficult and important part of the event: answers to questions. Press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov conducted the press conference. His functions were diverse: He leaned toward the president and explained the questions he did not understand, selected from the pile of notes those written by correspondents of "propresidential" publications, and was the first to come to his senses after a lengthy pause when the president appeared to have finished answering a question, but the bewildered audience was waiting for more, since nothing of substance had been said.

Despite the fact that in his introductory speech Boris Yeltsin had talked at length about the creative role of democratic transformations in Russia, all his subsequent pronouncements were basically destructive, calling for social confrontation. They boiled down to one thing: The removal of the Supreme Soviet from the political arena. No matter what the journalists asked the president about—the future of the Kurils, the expected trip to Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia, candidates for the post of new security minister—Boris Nikolayevich's answer (like the well-known Roman senator who used to end every speech in the senate with the words "Carthage must be destroyed") would end with the sentence: The Supreme Soviet must be replaced as soon as possible with a two-chamber federal parliament.

The president's replies so often contained absurdities that the audience soon began to regard this as the norm, with only the foreign correspondents gazing in bewilderment at their Russian colleagues' inscrutable faces. But the journalists of local publications tried, out of a sense of patriotism, to give the impression that these were the very answers they expected from an overly laconic president. Boris Nikolayevich, however, did warm to his theme toward the end of the meeting. He talked about his weekly work routine and added that he played tennis on Tuesdays and Saturdays, and last Tuesday he had played 14 games and routed his opponent.

The impression was that in sporting contests the president is so dynamic because he uses a simple psychological ploy—he imagines his opponent is the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, whom he has to smash to pieces. The president admitted he regarded the delaying of early Supreme Soviet elections as the biggest mistake in the reforms. But what about the decline in the people's living standard, the curtailment of production, the dangerous increase in crime? The president said nothing at all on these subjects.

But there was one idea underlying the entire press conference: Elect a new parliament and we will start living. Sad and laughable....

More on Conference in Support of Parliament

PM2408100793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Aug 93 First Edition p 2

[Viktor Petrovskiy report under the "Conference" rubric: "In Defense of Parliamentarianism and Democracy"]

[Text] The All-Russia Conference of representatives of social forces and movements advocating the constitutional system of parliamentarianism and democracy in Russia was held yesterday in the Russian Federation parliamentary center on the initiative of the Moscow "Movement in Support of Parliamentarianism" organization. Representatives of eight republics within the Russian Federation, 47 other components of Russia (unfortunately the previous edition contained wrong figures), and Moscow and St. Petersburg came to the conference.

In the introductory report, Vasiliy Lipitskiy, leader of "Civic Union," spoke of the difficulties of the establishment of parliamentarianism in Russia, which has a strong tradition of autocracy. We have never had a national custom of identifying ourselves with electoral representatives, which is the case in the West. Today this plays into the hands of the executive. The real problem today is the desire of the executive structures for absolute power and the extensive use of strong-arm methods against the representative power. For this reason, the speaker said, parliamentarianism in Russia needs active support from social forces.

Speaking during the discussions, representatives of parties and movements and people's deputies spoke of the need for an All-Russian movement in support of the constitutional system and representative power in Russia as the only guarantor of Russian democracy, and consequently as the firm protector of the national interests.

Participants in the conference decreed to convene a constituent conference in September of this year to create the All-Russian "Movement in Support of Parliamentarianism" organization, and issued a statement.

There is a new threat in Russia of a forcible change of the state system and the reestablishment of dictatorial power, whereby a small number of people will wallow in luxury, while the majority will languish in poverty and lawlessness, the statement says. The bellicose statements made by the president stir up the situation in the country and undermine civil peace, which is unstable enough as it is. Statements about a "decisive battle" in September, the anticonstitutional adoption of his version of the country's Fundamental Law, and the elimination of representative organs of power, and primarily the Supreme Soviet, are unprecedented in their lawlessness.

The president has been rejecting the appeals of the parliament and the public to operate strictly within the framework of the Constitution and the laws, and seek paths toward accord, the statement goes on to say. It is no coincidence that "military" terminology prevails in his speeches. This has nothing to do with the ideas and principles of democracy.

The Supreme Soviet and representative power as a whole will rely on all progressive social and political forces which are interested in the strict observance of the existing Constitution, and the elaboration and adoption, in accordance with it, of the new Fundamental Law with the participation of all the people, in order to strengthen statehood, parliamentarianism, and democracy. It is important to step up mass support for the soviets everywhere, the statement says, and defend lawful means of constitutional reform, which is only possible amid broad national accord.

In their statement, the participants in the conference have appealed to all servicemen and the power structures to be true to the military oath, in taking which, each citizen swears to protect the motherland, the Constitution, and the constitutional system. Since the olden days the Russian military has considered every word of the oath to be sacred. No doubt they will continue to strictly follow this tradition now, preventing the use of military force to the egoistic interests of individual political groupings or ambitious politicians.

In the second half of the day, the participants in the conference were addressed by Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

Presidential Aide Interviewed on Issues Disturbing Army

PM2308141593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Aug 93 p 2

[Interview with V.S. Smirnov, deputy leader of analytical center of Russian president's administration, by Lieutenant Colonel Ivan Ivanyuk under "Topical Subject" rubric; place and date not given: "What the President Learns"]

[Text] As KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported, structural subdepartments have been formed in the analytical center of the Russian Federation president's administration to generalize and analyze the socioeconomic situation taking shape in the Russian Armed Forces.

We asked Vladimir Smirnov, deputy leader of the analytical center, to speak about the recent studies in this sphere which have been placed on the president's desk.

[Ivanyuk] Vladimir Sergeyevich, on the one hand the center is called upon to study global problems and to make long-term forecasts while, on the other, the socioeconomic situation in the Army and the Navy is now so acute that it is also impossible not to react to it....

[Smirnov] Our chief task is to help the president and the government to shape socioeconomic policy in the Armed Forces. We are now analyzing such long-term problems as the conversion of military production, the reuse of surplus armament and ammunition, and socioeconomic aspects of the draft military doctrine and of the contract system of troop manning. We are obliged to provide the country's leadership with accurate and scientifically substantiated information which takes the interests both of the state and of servicemen into account.

At the same time our center also tackles day-to-day questions. Thus, we could not fail to make our own assessment of the recent action by the Central Bank of the Russian Federation with regard to the exchange of money, which directly affected the interests of officers, ensigns, and their families. Its thoughtless and uncivilized nature was felt particularly acutely in the Armed Forces. With regard to the specific nature of military service—the remoteness of garrisons, lengthy tours of duty, including long sea voyages, etc.—the previous exchange of money had also been difficult. This has now been joined by "hot spots" outside Russia, where at precisely this time large sums of money were paid out to cancel the arrears in wages, which are one of the incentives in this difficult service. The money exchange measure also coincided with graduation from military higher educational institutions, when young officers received their initial pay and traveling expenses. In all, each one was issued with 200,000 rubles [R]—sufficient money to get to his place of service and to settle in. But how could he do this when starting literally "from scratch," with the R35,000 which it was initially permitted to exchange? All this was not initially taken into account by the Central Bank. Our suggestions promptly put to the Russian Federation president made it possible to rectify the situation.

[Ivanyuk] What is your assessment, on the whole, of the present social situation in the Armed Forces?

[Smirnov] It is very complex. Despite the measures taken in the past two years to improve the servicemen's life, many problems unfortunately remain unresolved. Whereas a year or two ago, according to sociologists' data, between 56 and 79 percent of servicemen (depending on their specific everyday situation) considered themselves inadequately protected socially, now this percentage "tops" 80 percent. Of course, specific sociological studies can produce a certain spread of assessments, but they do reflect the overall trend. The surge of enthusiasm in military collectives following the adoption of the military package of laws has now diminished appreciably.

In all, seven laws and more than 40 different legal acts governing the troops' vital activity and socioeconomic support for servicemen and members of their families have been adopted since the institution of the presidency was established in Russia. But some of them have never started working in full. There are many reasons for this situation, and I will name just some of them. Let us start with the fact that the laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet are themselves imperfect and contain many contradictions. An analysis we have made of legislative acts in the defense sphere has revealed their disparity with the state's economic potential and with the logic of economic reforms.

[Ivanyuk] Vladimir Sergeyevich, it seems to me that a specific person who wears shoulder boards is indifferent as to who will take care of him—the Supreme Soviet or the president of the Russian Federation. All structures must take an equal interest in the stability of the situation in the Armed Forces....

[Smirnov] Yes, but there are destabilizing factors which go beyond the military department. Thus, the adopted system of tax, transport, and municipal privileges influences the shaping of local budgets and gives rise to contradictions in the economic interests of the Army and the regions. Maybe we are not talking of very large sums, although they are of significance to local budgets. The chief thing is that the funding of transport expenses, of the maintenance of preschool establishments, and of much besides is of a clearly expressed social nature—which provides a breeding ground for anti-Army sentiments.

[Ivanyuk] But you will agree that the situation in the Army is also difficult and servicemen certainly are not prospering.

[Smirnov] We are fully aware of this. Any political or economic decision has multifaceted consequences, and account must be taken of all factors which might worsen the situation or destabilize it. For example, the attempt to revise downward some of the privileges six months after the law "On the Status of Servicemen" was adopted is just as unsuitable as certain Supreme Soviet decisions—disappointed social expectations could become a very strong source of tension in collectives. Thus, we are alarmed at the now chronic delays over paying servicemen who do not have other sources of income. For the first time in all the years that the Armed Forces have been in existence the threat of servicemen's mass protests over the nonpayment of money is arising. The situation is unprecedented and inadmissible.

[Ivanyuk] Do you forecast long-term consequences for particular mistakes in socioeconomic policy?

[Smirnov] This is probably one of the main aims of the studies we make. Although I must honestly admit that it is hard to make long-term forecasts now. Many negative consequences are making themselves felt even now, such as the drop in the prestige of military service, for example. The Ministry of Defense can hardly be satisfied with a state of affairs whereby a significant proportion of military units are manned at less than half strength and officers have to carry out the duties of soldiers and seamen. Two circumstances tell here: the sharp reduction in the draft contingent, which has largely been created artificially by the legislators, and the fact that the structural reductions of military units and combined units are lagging behind the overall reduction in the numbers of servicemen.

Note should also be taken of the inefficient nature of the chosen means of contract troop manning and of its poor economic and financial elaboration. Recruitment is carried out primarily for auxiliary posts, not for posts which require special knowledge. From our viewpoint it would be more expedient first to concentrate on creating the institution of professional junior commanders—sergeants and petty officers. At the same time the pay for those who work with personnel should be set at the level of junior officers. Foreign experience shows that in this way it is possible to reduce the total number of officers in the troops and, at the same time, to strengthen order and discipline. If the Armed Forces gradually lose cadres and fail to attract fresh forces, it will be impossible to speak not only of a successful military reform but also of the combat readiness of the Army and the naval forces.

Even now, not to mention the long term, the housing problem is giving rise to a no less critical situation in the Armed Forces. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has written of this repeatedly. The specific figures reflecting the housing shortage are well known, and the only thing that can be said is that they have a constant tendency to increase. It can already be said that the degree of support for the policy of reforms on the part of officers will depend on the way the apartments issue is resolved. Unfortunately, this problem is far from being resolved. It is a matter here not only of the lack of a clear-cut action plan—the state program for providing servicemen with housing has finally been adopted. But the appropriations being allocated to housing construction, including for servicemen transferred to the reserve, are plainly inadequate at present, and additional options for resolving this problem must be sought. In addition, finances are allocated to a region, not for a specific program or project. There is no system of state-public control at the center or in the provinces either over the progress of housing construction for former servicemen or over the process of their social adaptation in "civilian" life. In our view, a state organ is needed to resolve these problems.

Supreme Soviet

Khasbulatov: Parliament 'Last Stronghold of Democracy'

MK2108103093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 21 Aug 93 p 5

[Yekaterina Ivanchenko report: "Conference for the Protection of Parliamentarianism. Ruslan Khasbulatov Begins Setting Up His Own Party"]

[Text] An all-Russian conference of representatives of public groups and movements that call for the protection of the constitutional order, parliamentarianism, and democracy in Russia was held yesterday at the Parliamentary Center. According to the conference's organizers, it is entirely possible that as early as next September its participants will set up a new election bloc. Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, who also attended the conference, said that "the August victory of 1991 turned into a great tragedy for the entire people." The Supreme Soviet chairman called the Russian parliament the last stronghold of democracy.

Supreme Soviet leaders have begun setting up their own "parliamentary" party. It was announced at the all-Russian conference of representatives of public groups and movements that call for the protection of the constitutional order that a Movement for the Protection of Parliamentarianism is to be officially set up in September in Moscow. To all appearances it is centrist, and opposition parties and movements will be the new entity's closest allies. In any event, representatives of these organizations made up the bulk of the conference's participants.

Vasiliy Lipitskiy, chairman of the Civic Union executive committee, pointed to the significance of the proposed movement, "because any struggle with parliamentarianism leads in the end to a struggle against democracy in general." Yuriy Deryugin, a possible leader of the emerging movement, said that the movement's chief objective would be "to press home the ideas of parliamentarianism to the masses." Gennadiy Sklyar, cochairman of the Socialist Workers Party, called on the Supreme Soviet "to cooperate more closely with society's civil forces."

Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Russian Communist Party executive committee, said that the nascent movement's chief objective should be the protection of soviets of all levels. "The soviets, for their part, should form a new, professional government," the communist added.

In conclusion, the conference adopted a statement expressing the need for "stepping up mass support for the soviets." Khasbulatov's attendance shows that the current leaders of the parliament pin high hopes on the would-be movement. The incumbent parliament has already drawn lessons from the bitter experience of the USSR Supreme Soviet and will not allow its dissolution, Khasbulatov said in his address. It can be presumed that the Movement for the Protection of Parliamentarianism will be closely linked to the current Russian speaker and will effectively be "Khasbulatov's party."

Ryabov Disassociates Himself From Power Struggle

LD2308211693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Video report by correspondent A. Abramenko, including recorded remarks by Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] At a conference in the Rostov Oblast soviet today, Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, disassociated himself from the struggle being waged by parliament for one branch of power. I, Ryabov stressed, am not a deputy of Khasbulatov, but a deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, and I will struggle, not for supremacy of one type of power or another, but for close cooperation between representative and executive powers.

[Abramenko] The meeting's main subject was a discussion on problems linked to a future federal structure. In Nikolay Ryabov's opinion, the strategic objective of a future federation agreement is the elimination of socioeconomic differences between the Russian people. The deputy speaker believes that these actions should be seen as a logical continuation of the constitutional process now taking place in Russia. Ryabov also said that he favored the speediest adoption of a new constitution and early parliamentary elections, as he believes that these moves are the only way of achieving civic consensus in the near future.

As far as increasing attacks on the media and freedom of speech in Russia by certain political forces are concerned, Nikolay Ryabov noted in part:

[Ryabov] In my opinion, the way to deal with the press is to create a whole set of normative acts to ensure a civilized regulation of this type of activity; in the opinion of others, the way to deal with the press is to take it by force—it was yours and now it is ours. I believe that this is very far from the truth, and is merely the old Bolshevist struggle for ideological influence on the masses.

Supreme Soviet Debates Isakov's Constitutional Amendments

PM2308141993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Aug 93 Second Edition p 2

[Aleksandra Lugovskaya report: "Parliament's Autocracy May Become Constitutional"]

[Text] At a joint sitting of the chambers 12 August, the deputies examined the draft Law "On Additions and Amendments to the Existing Constitution," which was submitted by V. Isakov, chairman of the Committee for Constitutional Legislation, and which can be called the latest attempt at a new constitution.

This conclusion can be drawn partly from what V. Isakov said—which was essentially that it will not prove possible to adopt the new Constitution, and therefore the problems of constitutional reform must be resolved via the existing one. He proposed around 20 amendments this time; if they are adopted, as O. Rumyantsev put it, Russia will receive an "unthinkable form of rule, which has no counterpart in any country."

In accordance with the proposed amendments, parliament intends to turn the president into head of state, handing over his powers as head of the executive to the government. The government itself will be virtually completely accountable to parliament, since the entire so-called inner cabinet—the prime minister and his deputies, and four power ministers (defense, security, internal affairs, and foreign ministers), as well as ministers of the economy, finance, justice, and press and information, and chairmen of the State Committee for the Management of State Property and the Antimonopoly Committee, will, according to the proposal of the Committee for Constitutional Legislation, be appointed subject to the Supreme Soviet's consent. In this way, parliament will obtain the possibility of dismissing either the entire government as a whole, or individual ministers it finds inconvenient.

V. Isakov also instructed that Part 2 of Article 104 of the Constitution be removed—essentially juridical nonsense bestowing upon the Congress of People's Deputies the right to receive for examination and resolve any question falling within the authority of the Russian Federation. At first sight, this is a positive step, but other amendments essentially cancel it out. The parliament's autocracy may become constitutional.

Parliament Debates CIS Republics' Debts

PM2308154393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Aug 93 First Edition p 1

[Andrey Sharapov report: "Supreme Soviet Session: Russian Credits Will Have To Be Repaid"]

[Excerpt] At a joint sitting of the chambers 20 August, following the ratification of the agenda, the floor was given to Mikhail Zakharov, chairman of the Commission for Social Policy. Commenting on the Russian Federation president's claim that the Supreme Soviet has reduced budget allocations for the social sphere, he informed deputies of the real state of affairs. In actual fact, it was the government which had proposed that the operation of laws on the social sphere be suspended, and in particular on the status of servicemen and on guarantees and compensation for workers in the Far North.

The executive was also striving to repeal the indexation of pension payments in connection with rising prices, as well as to reduce deductions for the Pension Fund by 25 percent and deductions for the Social Security Fund by 20 percent. It was only thanks to the deputies' corps that our citizens have not become virtually one-third poorer today.

The parliament reaffirmed the correctness of the Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision concerning the control of buildings and premises used by the supreme representative power.

Until recently, confusion reigned in credit relations with countries which are former USSR republics, and the issue of technical credits was sometimes not even made dependent on their mandatory repayment. The first block of documents regulating this important economic sphere has been submitted to parliament for ratification.

The overall debt of the CIS republics to Russia is calculated at 2,190 billion rubles [R]. For the current year, the budget envisages the possibility of issuing credits to the tune of R800 billion, of which R760 billion has already been distributed. The adopted decrees on the rescheduling of the debts on technical credits contain agreed data on the republics' debt commitments to Russia. The debts owed by Kyrgyzstan (R55.8 billion), Moldova (R40 billion or $88.9 million at the agreed rate), Tajikistan (R16 billion or $42 million), Turkmenistan (R135.9 billion), Uzbekistan (R57.3 billion or $14.3 million), Ukraine (R1,050 billion or $2,500 million), Armenia (R10 billion or $14.3 million), and Belarus (R177.3 billion or $385.4 million) have been rescheduled. At the same time, agreements were concluded on granting a credit to Armenia for 1993. This sum will total R20 billion; R125 billion is planned for Uzbekistan; R70 billion for Belarus; and R250 billion for Ukraine. [passage omitted]

Adopts Law on Space Research

LD2008155593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1455 GMT 20 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow August 20 TASS—The Russian parliament has adopted a law on activities in space research which, unlike many others who reject space research, does not call to put an end to it but on the contrary, proceeds from that fact that the studies of the universe, which Russia was the first to begin, open new prospects for the world civilization.

The preamble to the law says that the exploration and the use of space, including the moon and other space objects, is one of the most important activities in the interests of citizens, society and the state. The law is aimed at ensuring "the legal regulation of space activities and promotes the use of the potential of space research in industry."

The law envisages that space activities should ensure access to space, help study the earth, promote the development of new technologies and enhance the efficiency of science, engineering and economy in general. The tasks of space research include ensuring the country's defence and control over the implementation of international treaties pertaining to armaments.

The law defined the tasks of the Russian Space Agency responsible for space activities at a state level and established that scientific research and the development of special equipment should be carried out in the framework of the federal space programme.

The Russian Government was entrusted to develop a statute on licensing space activities, on the order of the development, production and exploitation of space equipment and the registration of space objects.

Regional Affairs

Dagestan's Magomedov on Constitutional Disagreements

PM2308121593 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Aug 93 p 2

[Interview with Dagestan Supreme Soviet Chairman M. Magomedov by Nadezhda Garifullina; place and date not given: "Echo of Petrozavodsk. Only Constitutionally!"]

[Text] The 13 August session of the Council of Heads of Republics in Petrozavodsk is still being discussed animatedly in the press. In particular the decision to create the Federation Council. I recently asked Dagestan Supreme Soviet Chairman M. Magomedov how the heads of the republics regard the new body.

[Magomedov] I can say that the components of the Federation have frequently made that suggestion, it also arose at one of the Congresses of People's Deputies. We see nothing bad in it if that deliberative, consultative body is attached to the president.

[Garifullina] But the president is proposing that the Federation Council be made a chamber of parliament...

[magomedov] Well, life will tell... Everything must be constitutional. At this stage it is only a question of consultative functions. I personally see nothing else in it.

[Garifullina] How does Dagestan regard the draft Constitution approved at the last session of the Constitutional Conference?

[Magomedov] We have not signed it and we do not agree with certain fundamental provisions of the draft. It does on the whole contain many progressive elements. But there are provisions that are incompatible with our understanding of the republic's rights as a state and we take a totally different view of other issues. We cannot agree with the fact that the republics' autonomy is being utterly belittled and that they are not even being left with the rights enshrined in all previous RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and USSR Constitutions. In effect an attempt is being made to go back on the Federation Treaty's demands and provisions. That does not suit us. The draft leaves room for disagreements between components of the Federation—republics, oblasts, and krays. We have never been opposed to oblasts and krays being placed on the same economic footing as republics. But republics have special political and national issues, republics mainly represent peoples. That is why we have not signed the president's draft constitution.

[Garifullina] Magomedali Magomedovich, how did the members of the Federation Council view the president's recent statements regarding the beginning of artillery preparation and the crucial battle?

[Magomedov] There was no special discussion of this matter during the meeting, but we realized that it is a question of the constitutional process, of decisively stepping up work to revive discussion of the draft constitution. It was only in that context that I personally saw where the president was coming from. This does not entail any deviations from the constitution.

[Garifullina] But the president did speak of the opposition, the soviets, and of a tough line toward them!

[Magomedov] In our republic, for instance, the soviets are performing their role and representing the interests of the people. The soviets suit the people of Dagestan. But we did not incidentally accept the presidency, our people were opposed to this, but they supported it for Russia as a whole. However, our republic has never aimed to dissolve or get rid of the soviets. In any case the state must have a representative form of power, we call it the Soviets.

[Garifullina] So, if President Yeltsin campaigns to disband the soviets, Dagestan will not back him?

[Magomedov] I would like to hope that the president does not intend to destroy the Soviets. I think that the president and the Supreme Soviet should find a unified approach to this fundamental issue.

Samara Oblast Suspends Payments to Federal Budget

PM2308132193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Aug 93 First Edition p 1

[Lyudmila Dianova report from the "Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow" column: "The Budget Will Wait, the Grain Cannot"]

[Text] As of yesterday Samara Oblast has stopped making payments into the federal budget. All the collected taxes will be channeled into paying for grain purchases. This decision was made by the oblast soviet's inner soviet.

We got through to Samara. Oblast Soviet Deputy Chairman Georgiy Zubrienko was on the other end of the line:

"Samara Oblast has grown an unprecedented crop this year, but the oblast cannot purchase the grain from the producers. The Russian Federation Government decree on financing the purchases of grain from the new harvest is not being implemented. And yet the harvested crop will go not just to the regional storage facilities but to the state stocks, too. We cannot wait for the government to get going. It is hours, not days that count now.

"Stopping the payment of taxes is a temporary measure. As soon as financing starts up, we will repay the state what we owe, which amounts to 140 billion rubles."

Tatarstan Leader on Regional Role, Nonpayment Charges

MK2408102093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Aug 93 p 3

[Unattributed report under the "NEGA Reports" rubric]

[Text] Republic President Mintimer Shaymiyev has dismissed accusations of nonpayments to the federal budget.

"Given such a huge budget deficit by the Russian Federation, regions that are getting no subsidies under agreement with the Finance Ministry should leave themselves sufficient funds for the solution of social programs," M. Shaymiyev stated in an interview for a NEGA correspondent. In his words, "it would be stupid to transfer the money to the center only to then sit around in the Russian Federation ministries' reception rooms and beg for your own money."

Tatarstan's president advised that the republic transferred to the federal budget nearly 100 billion rubles this year.

"It is these principles that form the basis of the republic's position in the talks with the Russian Federation Finance Ministry, but so far the ministry has not been meeting Tatarstan half way," said M. Shaymiyev.

He stressed that Tatarstan plays an integrating role in Russia and the CIS, having horizontal treaties and agreements with most of the Russian Federation territories, and all the post-Soviet republics with the exception of Armenia and Azerbaijan. According to Tatarstan's leader, the republic today has a favorable balance with all CIS countries with the exception of Belarus and Moldova.

South Ural Republic 'President' Issues Statement

PM2408132593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 93 p 1

[YEVROPEYSKO-AZIATSKIYE NOVOSTI report followed by Viktor Trushkov commentary: "Another Republic"]

[Text] "In order to overcome the profound all-out crisis in Chelyabinsk Oblast brought about by dyarchy, and proceeding from the results of the election of the head of administration, in which the overwhelming majority of oblast residents expressed confidence in me, and also in an attempt to accommodate the demands of broad strata of the population, I, Sergey Vladimirovich Kostromin, am taking up the post of oblast leader as of 23 August 1993," the acting president of the South Ural Republic [SUR] stated yesterday.

S. Kostromin has ordered that Chelyabinsk Oblast be given the status of a republic within the Russian Federation, that it henceforth be called the "SUR," and that the activity of soviets of people's deputies of all levels be suspended until elections to the SUR State Duma and rayon and city municipal committees are held. A referendum on the SUR Constitution and elections of the SUR president are to be held 7 November 1993. The export of raw materials, consumer goods, and food from the SUR is to be banned and customs checks are to be established along the entire length of the republic's borders. All people without a permanent place of residence, gypsies, Chechens, Tajiks, and other foreign states' citizens are to be deported in order to ensure order and combat crime. Joint patrols by SUR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] detachments and Russian Federation Defense Ministry troops are to be carried out in all SUR population centers. A SUR Central Bank is to be set up on the basis of the Central Bank of Russia's Chelyabinsk Oblast Directorate.

As of 31 August 1993 bread, milk, meat, and sugar prices are to be halved and liability at law for failure to carry out this provision on the part of state enterprises is to be determined, up to and including their being wound up. As of 1 September 1993 prices of foodstuffs and consumer goods are to be frozen. And a minimum wage of 30,000 rubles fixed as of 1 August 1993. Petr Sumin has been appointed SUR vice president and Vadim Solovyev SUR prime minister. "I ask residents of the SUR to keep calm and preserve order and not succumb to antipeople forces' provocations," the statement by acting SUR president S. Kostromin says. [report ends]

First Commentary

So the April referendum has already resulted in the proclamation of the SUR in Chelyabinsk. This time it is not a question of a change of name, but a ringing declaration. The new republic has already introduced its own central bank, its own border, and customs service and reduced prices... And this at a time when B. Yeltsin and his team are talking loftily about setting up an unconstitutional Federation Council, apparently with the task of reconciling all components of the Russian Federation under its present rulers. In response the regions are trying to resolutely escape the state's present authority, which is continuing to destroy the great power.

Chelyabinsk Nuclear Center's Financial Problems Detailed

PM2308115993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 93 First Edition p 2

[German Galkin report: "Federal Nuclear Center at Chelyabinsk-70 on Verge of Bankruptcy"]

[Text] Chelyabinsk—For the first time in a long while the problems of Chelyabinsk-70 (recently renamed as the city of Snezhinsk) have been at the center of increased attention. The prestigious All-Russia Applied Physics Research Institute [AAPRI], which is located here and which has had the status of Federal Nuclear Center since last year, is now on the verge of bankruptcy. I have become convinced of this both by my personal impressions following fairly protracted monitoring of the situation and by analyzing publications in the local press. We are talking about an already familiar problem—the ending of centralized funding for the most basic scientific programs. If the federal organs of power continue this policy the country risks being left in principle without any real prospect of development. Especially as, apart from the center at Arzamas-16, neither Russia nor the CIS has any other enterprises similar to the institute in Snezhinsk. Incidentally, in the opinion of AAPRI Director V. Nechay, it is thanks to the aforementioned two enterprises that right up until the 1990's the USSR was not inferior to the Americans in nuclear weapons development, and they started studying the problem much earlier than us. We now know that the most powerful hydrogen bomb, strategic warheads, tactical nuclear weapons—all this was developed in the South Urals, at the applied physics institute. Because nuclear weapons cannot simply be banned just like that, there is enough work at the AAPRI to last a long time, especially as a whole range of research is concentrated here—both basic and applied. The institute has two state experimental plants. Mechanical parts are made in one and explosives in the other. The total number of staff is 15,000.

In conditions of conversion the AAPRI engaged in a quest for science-intensive areas. One of the most global was the fiber-optics communication systems program. Besides that there have been a number of quite unique achievements in such spheres as medicine, explosives technology, metal working, radiation technology, and others.

However, given the virtually complete ending of centralized funding of research, the Federal Nuclear Center's current status can be no consolation in itself. The collective has even had to literally wring the money for its wages from Moscow. In the opinion of Snezhinsk Administration Head V. Shchukin, the problem as such is not being eradicated just because the money for paying wages, which was at one time held back, is now arriving albeit with delays; the nature of future funding of the institute's work still remains uncertain. According to AAPRI staffers they are no longer relying on a positive solution to the problem. In this context the question arises: Will people who have been driven to despair not take some sort of unpredictable steps, like the well-known attempt to move abroad made by an entire group of leading specialists located here, in the South Urals, at the Makeyev Machine Building Design Bureau? Incidentally, by a twist of fate the machine building design bureau also has the status of a state center—but only of a rocket center...

An average wage of 38,000 rubles [R] and a debt of R3.5 billion—that is the current state of affairs at the Federal Nuclear Center in Snezhinsk. The institute's leaders have gone virtually everywhere with anxious appeals—to the government, to parliament... The result—nothing. A resolution adopted at a recent rally attended by thousands contained a request to the president about a meeting with Chelyabinsk nuclear workers. It is still not clear whether this reached the addressee.

Particular anxiety is being caused by the fact that, because of the ending of funding, those areas of the institute's work where Russia has until now had indisputable superiority are in danger of being wrecked. The departure of skilled cadres—which is not explosive but constant and systematic—has been a reality here for a long time now. People are not so much heading abroad as settling in commercial structures within Snezhinsk itself. It is highly indicative that young producers are joining the Army as warrant officers and extended service personnel used for guarding facilities, receiving wages double or triple those of leading specialists at the AAPRI's experimental production facilities. In the opinion of Yu. Bersenev, chairman of the AAPRI's trade union committee, the institute's staff are now under constant stress, and in these conditions they simply cannot be allowed to work with radioactive—highly dangerous—technologies.

The only way out of the current situation, in the opinion of the Federal Nuclear Center's leadership, is for the state to pay the institute's debts, following which production and research programs would be adequately funded. It is a question of funding research, with nuclear workers guaranteeing a return on this as early as in a few years' time.

Tula Defense Industry Leaders Seek Government Help

PM2308124193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 93 First Edition p 2

[Arnold Pushkar report: "Tula's Military-Industrial Complex Generals Attack Government"]

[Text] Tula—The directors of Tula defense industry enterprises have sent V. Chernomyrdin and R. Khasbulatov an appeal in which they demand credits, concessions, an audit of commercial banks, and control over prices of fuel and energy resources.

Tula's industrialists, who have always been distinguished by their healthy conservatism (Tula has never struck and in the czar's time played no part in the Bolshevik ventures of 1917), have reached boiling point in the current dual power situation. In recent days increasingly politicized statements in the spirit of the National Salvation Front have been made in the council of directors, on the pages of the local press, and in the meeting with First Vice Premier O. Lobov, who has been touring oblasts.

Defense orders have decreased by a factor of 20 but the government has not helped us at all. Having conceived a mythical monster—the military-industrial complex—it is deliberately crippling its industry with taxes in order to turn the country into a raw material appendage of foreign monopolies. If the government cannot govern let it resign, V. Shiryayev, director of Tula Cartridge Plant, bluntly told Lobov to his face from the platform.

It was a typical speech. Military-industrial complex leaders are using economic vocabulary less and less and are predicting industry's destruction and mass unemployment unless...unless defense plants receive preferential credits and tax breaks, and unless state regulation of prices of energy sources and a standard wage are introduced...

In the hall where the military-industrial complex elite had assembled there was nostalgia for the planned economy and centralized supply, when the defense sector was refused nothing and money came pouring in. Although Tula plants have started making some civilian goods, weapons continue to bring in the dollars. The creators of "Grad" and "Uragan" multiple rocket launchers, like Academician N. Makarovets, general director of the "Splav" Science and Production Association, are still prepared to grace the world with these products rather than with contemptible consumer goods, which they, as international fairs show, are simply unable to manufacture to a world standard.

International Affairs

Envoy Notes Wish for Debt Relief From Russia

LD2308180993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1125 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Ukrainian Ambassador to Russia Volodymyr Kryzhanovskyy has said that Ukraine is prepared to supply Russia with 5 million tonnes of grain, as well as sugar beet, this year. However, he warned that the republic will not be able to settle its entire debt for Russian hydrocarbons at world market prices. Nevertheless the republic hopes that Russia will make concessions over the rescheduling of Ukraine's foreign debt or consider the possibility of writing it off completely. According to Ambassador Volodymyr Kryzhanovskyy, unless Russia wishes to provoke famine in the Ukraine on the same scale as in the 1930's, it must not demand payment from the republic at world prices.

Options for Settlement of Crimea Problem Pondered

PM2408091593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Aug 93 First Edition p 5

[Boris Pugachev "Expert Analysis": "Lessons of the Crimea"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Political forces favoring talks between Russia and Ukraine on the Crimean issue and Russia's ownership of the Black Sea Fleet are currently clustering around the Russian parliament. The struggle between the political groups affiliated with Yeltsin and the Supreme Soviet will be relentless.

The president himself is constantly wavering. He is inclining toward concessions and compromise on problems regarding the fleet. Moreover, he has chosen the line of generally supporting the course being pursued by Kravchuk during what is a fairly difficult period for the Ukrainian president.

It cannot be ruled out that by the fall or winter of 1993-94, the political disposition of forces in the Russian leadership will not shape up in Yeltsin's favor. It is extremely likely that, prompted by this fact, Yeltsin will review his position and draw closer to the opposition viewpoint on this problem.

The Ukrainian leadership will undoubtedly force the pace of talks to divide up the fleet and strive to establish even tighter control over Crimea. The objective of this policy is to make the division of the Black Sea Fleet irrevocable and totally eliminate all Russian claims to involvement in deciding the peninsula's future. As far as Crimea itself is concerned, the local population's sympathies are extremely pro-Russian.

I am convinced that the upcoming talks between Yeltsin and Kravchuk on contentious problems in Russian-Ukrainian relations will yield palliative solutions. Just as the Russian Supreme Soviet's Decree on Sevastopol cannot basically resolve the problem.

The Roads We Choose

In my view, it is possible to find a fundamental solution to the Crimean problem by using two diametrically opposite approaches. The first is the restorationist approach. The basis for this would be the denunciation of the CIS agreements and the restoration of the Union status quo. This is clearly the path that would be taken by the "intransigent" opposition if they were to come to power. But the restoration of the former USSR is impossible. Everybody realizes this.

Side by side with the "retrospective" solution there is a fundamentally different one—the "forward-planning" method of resolving interstate problems in the post-Soviet world. This is the path of "flexible" federations opening up possibilities for federal self-determination of peoples and territories. Today, with the exception of Russia, not one former Union republic has embarked on the course of federalization. This is a politically absurd situation. The unitarian approach, in my view, has led to the bloody events in the Transcaucasus and the Dniester region and is causing acute conflicts in Latvia and Estonia. And the Crimean problem is in many ways connected with the logic of the new Ukrainian unitarianism. Today in percentage terms there are fewer Ukrainians living in Ukraine than there are Russians living in Russia. But the models of state structure in these two countries are diametrically opposed. Russia is a federal state where, in addition to 21 republics and 11 national-state formations, there are another 57 components of the Federation. Whereas in Ukraine there is currently just one state formation—Crimea. And the prerogatives of its state organs cannot be compared with the competence of the organs of power in the Russian republics. It seems that a process of federalization in Ukraine and other independent states is inevitable. This would allow the ethnic factor of tension to be removed and would give a considerable number of rights and responsibilities to components of the Federation. A federal state structure is more stable and adaptable to change than the present postcommunist multinational unitary states. This is the inescapable logic of peaceful development in the multinational area of the former Union. Let me stress peaceful development.

The idea of new federalism could basically resolve the problems of Crimea, Sevastopol, and the Black Sea Fleet. Every component of a new Russian or Ukrainian Federation would independently determine its own policy of mutual relations on the regional level. New federalist ideas could open the door to fairly extensive and reintegrated ties between adjacent Russian and Ukrainian regions as autonomous components of a federation: Russian and Ukrainian respectively. Chernomyrdin and Kuchma have taken steps in this direction by signing an agreement on extensive integrated cooperation. Only a general strategic approach to Russia and Ukraine's future statehood and ways of reintegrating them can lift the tension surrounding Crimea and all the Crimean "elements."

Customs Seize Missile Fuel Rumored Bound for Libya

AU2408093593 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 19 Aug 93 p 3

[Oleksandr Chernetskyy report: "This is Precisely What Radiophobia Is All About"]

[Text] Rumors have recently been circulating in Odessa that local customs officers have "seized" a dangerous cargo—containers with nuclear fuel.

A cargo was, indeed, seized, but it was... not nuclear. This is how A. Savelyev, chief of the Illichivsk Department of Ukraine's Security Service explained the situation: Four railroad cars loaded with one component of missile fuel (nonnuclear!) arrived at the Odessa-Sortuvalna Station. The supplier of the ammonium perfarite [perfarit]—the name of the chemical component—is the external economic association "Pavoks" that dispatched the railroad cars from Novorossiysk to Bulgaria.

This cargo is not radioactive, but it requires special attention and supervision during transit. The railroad cars with the fuel are presently under supervision at the Odessa-Sortuvalna Station.

Other rumors, that the cargo was meant for Libya, to which such deliveries are forbidden, have not been confirmed either.

National Affairs

Parties, Unions Demand Early Parliamentary Elections

AU2408092993 Kiev NARODNA HAZETA in Ukrainian No. 32 (113), Aug 93

[Rukh-Pres statement: "The Opposition Warns: The Supreme Council Is Dangerous"]

[Text] Representatives of 25 parties, public organizations, and trade unions have signed an appeal to the Supreme Council demanding that a new election law be adopted in September and that the powers of the people's deputies be suspended not later than at the beginning of the new year and parliamentary elections be held concurrently. The crisis of power and the threat of a social explosion in the state have united those forces that competed on different fronts—political and labor.

At the news conference convened by Rukh (Ukraine's People's Movement for Perestroyka] on the occasion of the actual revocation of the 26 September referendum, reporters were reminded that the Supreme Council, had, for the second time, ignored its own decree (the first one is dated October 1990) on the nationwide referendum on confidence in the legislative power. That is why, according to the authors of the document, it has simply no moral right to act on behalf of the people. "Based upon sociological data, I can say with absolute certainty that our appeal will be supported by the majority of Ukrainian citizens," Oleksandr Lavrynovych, deputy chairman of Rukh, said. He called upon deputies of democratic orientation to lay down their mandates, if the Supreme Council delays the fulfillment of the demands expressed in the appeal. "The entire responsibility for the consequences of possible actions that may be taken to reform power in Ukraine," warns the appeal, "falls on the 'people's deputies' themselves." "This is a joint move by Rukh, the parties, and trade unions with a single demand—to hold parliamentary elections," Oleksandr Mril, chairman of the Independent Union of Miners, further specified. "This demand will be supported in the east, west, and south of Ukraine." As was announced at the news conference, the parties and trade unions are ready to force the deputies to appoint early elections by resorting to pressure both in the form of mass demonstrations and a political strike.

It cannot be ruled out that the coordination of actions against the Supreme Council could form the basis for a pre-election alliance of democratic forces.

The chairman of Ukraine's Trade Unions Federation, Oleksandr Stoyan, although he did not sign the joint appeal, informed the Rukh leadership about his support for the demand for parliamentary elections at the beginning of next year.

Statement Warns of 'Social Explosion'

LD2308160293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0000 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] The People's Rukh of Ukraine, Nova Ukrayna, the Socialist Democratic Party, the Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine, the Liberal Democratic Party of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Social Democratic Youth Association [all party names as heard], some other political groupings, and the Independent Trade Union of Coal Miners circulated a joint statement accusing the authorities of reluctance to alter the vicious command and administer system which has led to rampant inflation, price hikes, curtailment of production, and the population's deteriorating living standards. With the authorities continuously breaking economic reforms, the danger of an imminent social explosion is growing, the statement says.

The breach by the Verkhovna Rada [Supreme Council] of its pledge to conduct the 26 September referendum will totally undermine the people's trust in the nation's lawmakers and may act as a catalyst for a catastrophic social blast. This may be avoided if the Verkhovna Rada makes a decision at its next plenary session about holding preterm general elections on a multiparty basis and passes a law to this effect.

The statement appeals to all Ukrainian political parties, public organizations, trade unions, and other public associations to refrain from mass protest actions including picketing the Verkhovna Rada, manifestions, rallies, and demos on the day the Verkhovna Rada opens its plenary session to give the MP's their last chance to enter into the annals of Ukraine's history as a parliament which initiated an independent Ukrainian state. Should the Verkhovna Rada fail to rise to its historical responsibility, political parties, public organizations, trade unions would meet in early September to massive political actions including a civic disobedience campaign to press for conveying a constitutional assembly. [sentence as heard]

Public Reported Concerned About Expected Monetary Reform

AU2408104293 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 19 Aug 93 p 1

[Vitaliy Lukyanenko report: "Rumors About the Introduction of the Hryvnya Are the August 'Hit'"]

[Text] Two dates for introducing the hryvnya—15 August and then 15 September—have been suggested. Some (well-informed) people almost swore that they had seen a draft presidential edict with one of these dates.

The president is having a rest, and the entire burden of commenting on the rumors has fallen upon the government.

First, Viktor Suslov, adviser to the prime minister, and then head of the government Leonid Kuchma himself actually refuted these rumors.

The official statements may be summed up like this: Technically, the introduction of the hryvnya has been prepared, but there is no practical mechanism for stabilizing the Ukrainian currency. The reform is bound to take place (this has not been anything new over the last two years), but I was assured by leaders of the executive power that it will not be a confiscation-type reform. More specifically, there will be no restrictions on the money declared for exchange.

Such refutations have suggested a new angle: The rumors were specially "floated" to cause panic circulation of the coupon cash and "contain" the raging waves of banknotes.

Despite official assurances, those who can see for themselves are alarmed by the unprecedented activity of yellow armored personnel carriers belonging to the banks in Kiev, Sevastopol, Simferopol, and Ukraine's oblast centers transporting "something."

Some people are confident that the hryvnya cash is being divided among the branches of the Savings Bank. Proceeding from today's highest nominal rate for the new currency, the rate of exchange is mechanically projected as one hryvnya for 1,000 coupons.

Then, after the meeting of the Council for Questions of Banking Activity presided over by the prime minister, the heads of the commercial banks almost unanimously assured the public of a liberalization of the government's position regarding them. Such a benevolent statement against the background of currency restrictions, the regulation of credit transactions, and so on could be due to the government's promise to implement monetary reform in the near future on the condition of guaranteeing the hryvnya's convertibility.

Refineries Production 'Virtually Ground to a Halt'

PM2308131793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Aug 93

[Report from Ukraine by V. Pidchenko and A. Dovgal; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Pidchenko] Production at Ukraine's oil refineries has virtually ground to a halt. A total of six enterprises were built here over the years, including unique enterprises capable of producing a very broad range of petroleum products, from industrial oils to rocket fuel. Nevertheless, this extremely costly complex currently functions at barely 10 percent of its capacity owing to a shortage of raw materials. The situation is further aggravated by the fact that the equipment, which was intended for an uninterrupted production cycle, quickly wears out and rusts when it is not used. And if the Kremenchug refinery, where we are filming, stands idle for another couple of years...

[V. Matytsyn, director of the Kremenchug oil refinery] If this happens, the complex will be no good to anybody. It will turn into a heap of metal, rusty scrap metal, like some of the installations which are already standing idle today, and which it would be impossible to restore and revive.

[Pidchenko] Experts see the setting up of joint-stock companies with oil production enterprises abroad as a way out of the situation. Partners would supply the raw material, which would be processed here, and the finished product would be distributed jointly. But so far it has proved difficult to attract investors. What they need is a law which would protect their interests and the interests of Ukrainian entrepreneurs from political and economic instability.

Eastern Regions Support Economic Union Within CIS

PM2308122793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 93

[Report from Ukraine by G. Kondaurov and Li Din Khvan; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Kondaurov] [passage omitted] Discussions about economic union are taking place against the background of an unprecedented slump in industrial production and upsurge in prices of fuel and energy resources, and an increase in the astronomic amount of nonpayments between Ukrainian enterprises and between Ukraine and Russia in general. This is why there are also many supporters of economic union between CIS countries among the active political forces of Ukraine. This is particularly so in eastern regions of Ukraine, where industry simply cannot survive without the traditional economic links. After all, every metallurgical or machine building plant has many thousands of what used to be called partner enterprises in the CIS states. Economists believe that the main reason for the profound crisis in the Ukrainian economy is the breakdown of these links. [passage omitted]

Border Troop Ships To Raise National Ensign

LD2308174893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Ships and vessels of the Border Troops of Ukraine today put to sea for the last time flying the ensign of the Border Troops of the former Soviet Union. At a ceremonial parade of crews this evening, these ensigns will be lowered, and will be accompanied by all military honors.

Tomorrow morning, on the second anniversary of Ukraine's independence, naval ensigns of the Ukrainian Border Guards will be hoisted for the first time. This ensign is a green canvass with the State Flag of Ukraine depicted at its top left quarter.

To honor the festival, Naval Border Guards tomorrow will hold various sports events and concerts will be organized for them.

Plyushch Addresses Independence Day Celebration

LD2208135093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1300 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Speech by Ivan Plyushch, chairman of the Supreme Council, at a meeting to celebrate the independence anniversary in Kiev—live]

[Text] Esteemed participants in this gala meeting, esteemed guests, dear compatriots: While congratulating you sincerely on the occasion of the second anniversary of Ukraine's state independence, I would like to tell you frankly that at this difficult time it is not easy to make a report at a festive gathering. Because there are no achievements to report on in a festive manner which would correspond to such an outstanding date. But this is a great national holiday of our people, so there is no need to repeat the indisputable truth that with the declaration of Ukraine's independence a new page in its distinctive history was opened.

This is why the Supreme Council Presidium and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, through their joint decision, proposed that this opportunity be used to meet with people, analyze in depth and in a critical manner what we have already done and, which is the main thing, map out our ways into the future.

For ourselves the past two years are marked by both certain achievements and serious slips as well as many unused opportunities. The Ukrainian people entered the world community as equal among equals. More than 140 countries recognized our country. The level of citizens' political freedom has significantly developed. A real multiparty approach is in the making. All restrictions have been lifted from the cultural development of the Ukrainian and other nations. The economic emancipation of people has gotten under way. Free enterprise is dawning.

Meanwhile, it is necessary to say openly that life has become harder for many citizens of Ukraine. And not only because the habitual, although modest but stable, life is passing away. But also because many compatriots are obliged to struggle for their physical survival, especially those who cannot work for various reasons. Under such conditions an attitude favoring the independence of the Ukrainian state itself has become dubious or even critical among some people. And such sentiments are understandable because we were creating a state to make people's life better. It seems we should look for the answer to the question: Why did this happen? And not only at the national level but also in every oblast, rayon, village, working collective and in every one of us. I would like to make some very generalized conclusions in this hall.

First, the complicated nature of the social processes in Ukraine is objectively conditioned by the transitional period in our development. Besides, the transition is taking place simultaneously in two directions: On the one hand Ukraine is moving from the status of a dependent region of the former superstate to genuinely sovereign country. On the other hand, a transition from authoritarian-bureaucratic society, which originated well before October [revolution] times, toward genuine democracy and free economy. Every of these transitions in itself is complicated. But when they interlace they become ever more complicated.

Second, upon embarking on the road of independent development we only managed to determine in most general terms where we should go and even less on how to do this. Historic practice, world experience of state formation and social development were not studied properly and, most importantly, insufficiently coordinated with our national peculiarities. This caused negative effects, first and foremost, in the implementation of the social and economic reforms, essentially complicated the law-making activities of the Supreme Council and especially the implementation of the laws which it already passed.

Today it is already possible to make a conclusion that many representatives of leading bodies lacked experience and practical skills of independent management of the state, all the more so under critical conditions. The whole difficulty of acquiring genuine independence by the state was underestimated. This did not allow to avoid euphoria at the early stage of independence, which was inherent in a considerable part of our population. Politicians failed to orient the citizens of Ukraine to understanding that the way toward genuine independence and a happy life is long and it lies through conscientious everyday work.

On the contrary, many politicians engaged themselves in open populism pursuing their narrow political aims. We failed to improve people's lives; disillusionment became widespread in society. These circumstance are being used by certain political forces both in Ukraine and beyond its borders, forces which are trying to connect these circumstances with Ukraine's independence, mislead people, and form a relevant public opinion. As far as the idea is concerned that material goods will appear by themselves with the declaration of independence, as some believed, and we shall immediately become a civilized country, I would like to remind you the words by our outstanding countryman Hryhoriy Skovoroda [18th Century Ukrainian philosopher and poet]. He would admonish his compatriots: It is absolutely impossible for all of us to be born at once in one century and, what is more, in a happy France. We paid too much attention to the development of the state as far as its attributes are concerned. This is necessary but this by no means exhausts the [word indistinct] of the state formation process.

At the same time, we were seriously late with the social and economic arrangement of society. Although, it is exactly this that determines the fate of the Ukrainian state and is a basis for a prosperous life of its citizens. It so happened because, in particular, the bodies of power and political forces often engaged in fruitless confrontation, clarification of their own mutual relations instead of constructive cooperation.

The third government of Ukraine has already failed to embark on the road of dynamic and effective socioeconomic transformations which would be of integral nature. No long-term pattern of the national economy, oriented to satisfying people's needs, was worked out and, what is most important, no effective mechanism of its implementation was elaborated. Hence the inconsistency of practical actions, lack of progress and, quite often, repeated mistakes.

Instead of purposeful movement forward we, so to say, lie to drifting, quite often chaotic and sometimes even dangerous. As a result, we have a whole series of crisis phenomena with a tendency toward growing into a national catastrophe. The situation in the production sphere and the entire national economy complex evokes the gravest anxiety.

According to both old and recent history reforms of production relations and social systems are always painful. The level of production declines, the volume of the national income decreases, the inflation rate grows, and subsequently people's lives becomes worse. Under such a situation, our state did not become an exception and the same goes for other countries of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The process of economic transformations in the country went ahead in an unsystematic fashion. The destruction of the old administrative-and-command system of management was carried out without a simultaneous introduction of economic regulation levers, which resulted in the break-up of economic ties not only with the closest foreign countries but even between enterprises within Ukraine itself. Coupled with the price rise and the drop in the standards of state and executive discipline, this led to the deepening of the crisis.

Particularly painful is the sharp fall of consumer goods production, especially that of food products. However, thanks to peasants' selfless labor this year, state orders will be met on most of the indices, which will make it possible to improve the food products situation considerably, whereas the situation in industry is much more difficult. For peasants did put forward demands to the state, yet they worked. They worked and demanded, and as a result, they gathered a record harvest of grain and (?cereal) crops this year, amounting to 35 quintals per hectare, while the gross yield by now has exceeded 40 million tonnes. The outlook is good for the harvest of sugar beets, sunflower, and vegetable crops.

Industrial production was severely damaged by the strikes. Those who only kept going on strike and holding rallies failed to deliver around 5 million tonnes of coal, including over 300,000 tonnes of coking coal, over 500,000 tonnes of cast iron, an equal amount of steel, 800,000 tonnes of iron ore, and a whole number of other chemical and other kinds of commodities to the state this June alone. The volume of undelivered commodities and failed production equals almost the yearly budget of an average Ukrainian oblast.

The aftermath of the strikes complicated the already tense situation in the national economy, considering that in the first half of this year the decline rate in industrial production stood at 5 percent, in June the rate was 9.6 perent, reaching 14 percent in July. Certain regions are struggling to hold on to the old system. A large and uncontrolled state sector is preserved in Ukraine. This puts brakes on the implementation of reforms. Yet where affairs are managed by experienced executives, enterprise collectives are working steadily with ever increasing volumes of production, despite the chaos in the banking system and the lack of centralized deliveries.

Take, for example, the Dnepropetrovsk heavy press works. A staff of almost 3,000 people has been increasing the output of its main product for the third year in a row. The multithousand staff of the Zaliv plant in Kerch, with the help of attracting foreign investments, has considerably expanded (?tanker) construction and repairs. Collectives that work well include the Lvov bus works, the Azovmash concern, the Kommunar motor vehicle works in Zaporozhye, the Kharkov Association, the Nord joint-stock company in Donetsk and other enterprises.

There are steadily working collectives even in the chronically ailing construction sector. Take, for example, Kievmiskbud, which has now been reorganized into a corporation. More housing, hospitals, and preschool child care institutions were built last year as compared with the previous one. This is in physical volumes, not in [words indistinct]. In the first half of this year already, they have put more housing and social amenities into operation. Almost 3,000 highly skilled workers left Kievmiskbud during the reorganization period. But when the staff felt they were their own masters and built over 200,000 square meters of housing, a hospital, and a number of other objects for their own needs, almost 2,000 of the same highly skilled workers returned to the Kievmiskbud association within a year and a half.

Incidentally, an interesting experiment in agro-industrial integration is being performed here. This association has started a joint project with the least developed, newly formed [name indistinct] rayon born after the Chernobyl disaster, which opens the door to the merger of interests between grain-producers and construction workers. More of such cases could be cited, but unfortunately they did not become a general trend of positive breakthroughs in our economy today.

An active process of reconsidering economic problems is now taking place at the Supreme Council, the Cabinet of Ministers, the executive structures, and working collectives. What has been done thus far is being criticized and reevaluated, and positions and trends of the further movement toward a market economy are being determined. But the market is not an end in itself. It is only a means we are supposed to use to stir up interest and create incentives and sound competition so as to raise labor efficiency and ensure conditions for a prosperous life.

Quite a few leaders at all levels are trying to blame the crisis in our economy on the shortage of power sources and their rising prices. This is true, but an in-depth analysis shows this is not the whole truth. We do not need to go far to look for examples—it is important to look at the state of affairs in Russia. My purpose is not to criticize but to compare, because the situation in many industries does not differ much from ours, although Russia has its own power sources in ample quantities.

Let us take a critical look at ourselves. During an energy crisis, rational managers always make the maximum economies with resources. By the way, 14 million tons of oil were extracted in Ukraine in 1970, and altogether 28 million tons of oil products were consumed; 61 billion [cubic meters] of gas were extracted, while 49 billion [cubic meters] consumed. Now we hear from the leaders at all levels and the government as a whole that Ukraine needs 50 million tons of oil and almost 1 trillion tons [as heard] of gas. Of course, the aftereffects had their impact—the aftereffects of the loss-making gross output economy.

At this point I cannot but recall what the satirist Yevhen Dudar said. He scoffed at our striving for gigantomania, and said we were smelting more metal than a dozen of large states altogether, our aircraft were the largest, our trains the longest, and our burdocks the largest—in some places they would reach two meters in size. Of course, this led to a sharp decline in resources in Ukraine. But both local and foreign experts estimate that they are ample for Ukraine to become a world leader provided these resources are used rationally, developed technologies and management methods are introduced, and we integrate into the world economy.

It is from this very stand that the Supreme Council now intends to consider a report by the Cabinet of Ministers on Ukraine's economic development. We hope that eventually we will consider the strategy for the state's economic development which the government has been elaborating for 10 months now. This must be an integrated program of action which is clear to every citizen and takes maximum account of the existing situation in the production, monetary, financial, and social spheres.

A solution of the social and economic problems is closely connected with the need to accelerate the formation and improvement of relevant state and legal institutions. I would say this is not quite an easy task to fulfill, because the process of state formation is closely related to the general process of democratizing social life. By the time the declaration of Ukraine's state sovereignty was adopted, a legal basis for state formation had been laid down. A search for ways of legally regulating issues of state power organization and structure, and optimally correlating its legislative and executive branches and the judicial system, was in progress. The Constitution of Ukraine currently in force was supplemented with a provision concerning the institution of the presidency.

Meanwhile, it should be openly admitted that Ukraine still does not have an integrated and sufficiently effective system of power to comply to the fullest possible extent with the specific historic conditions and traditions of our people. What it has is a conglomerate of its own half-destroyed past and elements of foreign experience, which was often borrowed without due analysis and comprehension. Therefore, it is a priority—indeed a matter of urgency—to work out a concept of integrating a power system in Ukraine with a mechanism for its implementation.

In fact, Ukraine has already made its choice. It is also fixed in Ukraine's new draft Constitution: political, economic, and ideological diversity; priority of human rights and freedoms; equality of all forms of ownership and economic management; a socially-oriented market economy. These are those very components which characterize the in-depth essence of the state we are striving to build.

Another cardinal issue is the problem of choosing the form of the state government and the form of the state and territorial structure of Ukraine: a presidential or parliamentary-presidential republic, either a federation or a unitary state. The draft new constitution envisages a parliamentary-presidential pattern of state government. I believe that, with regard to specific historic conditions of Ukraine's development, this is the best option.

As far as the form of the state and territorial structure is concerned, we must preserve Ukraine's integrity and at the same time grant vast plenary powers to regions. The idea is to introduce, as a matter of fact, administrative autonomy on the basis of a decentralization of power. As far as local government is concerned, it must be carried out where people live, in other words, in villages and cities. It is there that all local affairs should be administered by the population and the body they elect. By the way, the system of self-government in most European countries is built on these very principles.

Of late, there have been attempts to belittle the role of the councils as bodies of people's power. These attempts are not just erroneous but harmful as well. It is precisely the representative nature of power which makes any country democratic. The idea is to grant representative bodies real rights and plenary powers so that they become bodies of genuine self-government, true masters on their territory. And this is impossible to implement without reforming the councils at all levels.

Life put on the agenda the question of improving the electoral system. I believe it is necessary to radically accelerate work on drafting and adopting election laws in such a way that they comply with the interests of the entire society and make it possible to elect people who are best prepared for political and law-making activities to the top legislative body and to all representative bodies.

I would like to be frank. The path to creating efficient power structures lies through their renewal. This refers to the Supreme Council as well. As you know, the Supreme Council decided to hold the 26 September referendum under the pressure of strikers. Now it has become obvious that this was not the best decision. Taking public opinion into account, the majority of people's deputies concluded that they had to reconsider that issue. It would be good if a reconsideration of that issue resulted in us adopting a new election law and a resolution on holding elections to the bodies of local self-government this year and elections of people's deputies of Ukraine in March next year. [applause]

Such a decision by deputies would testify to their civic maturity and show their concern for the nation's interests, because, as you know, it is often much more difficult to refrain from power than to come to it.

As far as the issue of confidence in the president is concerned, I believe it would be expedient to tackle it in compliance with the constitution currently in force.

Of course, the process of the state formation will proceed faster as the formation of a developed political system accelerates, and one of the main elements of this are political parties. Today there are 27 parties of various orientation in Ukraine. Most of them have a small membership and exert little influence on the political life of Ukraine. They can be criticized, but it would be a grave mistake to ignore them or to underestimate their role. We should not make this mistake.

Experience of foreign countries shows that in the long run society gets the number of parties it needs. This experience also shows that the existence of a multiparty system is a weighty factor in democracy in forming bodies of state power and in their functioning. However, this will happen only if all political forces act within the law, use civilized methods of political struggle, and seek ways of finding solutions to the tasks necessary to build Ukrainian statehood.

During this period, issues of military construction are extremely important. They have been tackled by considering our need for national defense and for forming Ukraine's armed forces. Realizing the principle of reasonable sufficiency, we embarked on the road of reducing the armed forces and converting the defense industry.

It is clear that we are virtually unable to maintain the present size of our Army. However, the reduction of its personnel, of officers and warrant officers in particular, is proceeding slowly. It is virtually impossible to force this process because the demobilized servicemen need not only housing but training for a civilian occupation. Finally, they must be provided with jobs. Something is being done toward that end, and the trend and the dynamics are positive. Last year alone almost 15,000 apartments were provided for servicemen. The planned retraining of officers and warrant officers is under way.

It is known that Ukraine inherited a huge nuclear arsenal from the former Soviet Union which, by virtue of its military capacity alone, is the world's third greatest power. Ukraine's declaration of state sovereignty proclaimed our state's intention to become non-nuclear in future. Confirming this intention, the Supreme Council said on 24 October 1991: Ukraine will pursue a policy aimed at complete elimination of nuclear arms and their base components. And these are not just declarations. Ukraine has already handed all of its tactical nuclear weapons over to Russia for elimination. The dismantling of strategic missile systems has begun. But it is not simple to do that.

Implementation of the disarmament program on a broad scale requires a huge number of issues and problems to be resolved. Where do we get the funds? How can we make this process a safe one, and not just from the technical or the environmental points of view, but, and we think it is most important, what shall we replace these nuclear arms with, considering that they have played and continue to play a crucial part in the system of national security.

Finally, what do we do with thousands of redundant servicemen in the missile army? We have no full answers yet to these and many other questions, while other states' promises of assistance so far remain mere declarations on paper. Therefore, accusations against Ukraine of delaying the ratification of the strategic arms limitation and reduction treaty and the accession to the nuclear nonproliferation treaty are groundless. I want to stress in this connection that the Supreme Council bears full responsibility to the Ukrainian people for ensuring that all aspects of these documents are carefully studied and possible consequences of their endorsement are taken into account.

We are guided by the interests of safeguarding Ukraine's national security.

We have started active work to improve the judicial system. A concept of judicial-legal reform has been approved, most essential measures to improve legal proceedings and the work of judges have been determined, and an appeal court system has been established. However, the judicial reform is only at the initial stage. Unfortunately, this work at the Supreme Council has unwarrantably slowed down lately.

No doubt, the role of judges in strengthening the law and protecting citizens' rights and freedoms must increase considerably, especially when you consider the worsening crime conditions in our society. People are worried by the sharp rise of crime. This phenomenon has gone to threatening lengths. In order to eradicate it, we must mobilize all forces and necessary state resources. This is not a matter of lacking a legal base. Many laws have been passed to fight this social evil. The only thing we need now is resolute action by all power structures, and first of all, law enforcement bodies.

To turn to the issue of our attitude to the CIS and the accusations that Ukraine is effectively destroying and isolating itself. To reply to these charges, we must take a trip back to the recent past.

You remember that in 1990 preparations began for a new Union treaty, as was said at the time to give new life to the Soviet federation. Ukraine immediately took a firm stand on this issue. We sought not a union state, even a renewed one, but a commonwealth of independent states as an association of truly equal partners.

On Ukraine's initiative, a consultative meeting of Supreme Soviet groups from Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine was held on 17-18 April 1991 in Kiev, at which the relevant protocol was signed. However, the center, striving to revamp the union at all costs, having already lost sight of historical perspectives and ignoring the attitudes of most republics in the Union, persisted in proposing its versions of a union treaty which in the long run were aimed at preserving the union as a unified state.

Ukraine, like the other republics which adopted declarations of state sovereignty, could certainly not agree to such versions. In our warnings, we confirmed our unchanged belief that the relations between republics in a new commonwealth union must be regulated on the basis of their constitutions, international law, and multilateral and bilateral treaties, while taxes to the commonwealth budget must be collected via a single channel.

The events of August 1991 sped up this process, and in December 1991 Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine signed a treaty on setting up a Commonwealth of Independent States, the CIS. Thus, this initiative of Ukraine to set up a commonwealth rather than a unified state was implemented. Therefore, there are absolutely no grounds for accusing Ukraine of taking a special stand on the CIS which is leading to the disintegration of the Commonwealth.

Another point is that we are expressly against any attempt to turn this Commonwealth into any kind of superstate or to grant its bodies a state nature. We are against treaties and unions which infringe on Ukraine's state and economic sovereignty. [applause]

It is from this very standpoint that we should assess the new draft treaty on economic union. For example, what does the draft mean by inspection-free movement of goods, services, labor, and capital? The same thing: the loss of an independent economy. [applause] Here one should say openly that this is an attempt to restore not only a single economic space but a single citizenship and a single state administration.

Those who insist on this kind of integration usually quote the experience of West European countries, the European Union, the Common Market, and the Maastricht Treaty, saying that the whole world is moving toward integration, while we are moving in the opposite direction, toward self-isolation and separatism. But there is no free movement of goods and labor, either in the European Common Market or anywhere else in the world. Everything is kept within quotas and regulations. There is no common currency either, as the ecu is not a common currency but a means of mutual accounting. Neither is there any single border. There is no common administration or any other kind of state institution. Only certain coordinating and consultative bodies are at work.

On the whole, those who assert the opposite want to see Europe as a unified state. In reality, Europe consists of independent states which have reached the current level of economic integration, having come a long way to develop their statehood and their own economies. At the same time, having created a Common Market, they did not give up their political and economic independence.

Ukraine is an open state which is striving for mutually advantageous cooperation with all countries in Europe and throughout the world on the basis of freedom of choice, mutual respect, equality, mutual benefit, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs.

The guidelines of Ukraine's foreign policy, recently approved by the Supreme Council, are based on generally recognized norms and principles of international law, the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, the Paris Charter for a New Europe, the documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and other international documents. We do not regard a single state as an enemy. We reject and condemn war and threats of force as methods of implementing state policies. This fully accords with the peaceloving nature of the Ukrainian people, and its aspiration to live in peace and accord with other peoples.

Recently, relations with our closest neighbors have been consolidated on the basis of trust and respect. Partnership and cooperation is developing. But a special place in our state's foreign policy is reserved for relations with Russia. We are deeply aware of our deep historical and cultural affinity with the Russian people and the economic interdependence of our states. It is said that we are destined to live in peace and friendship with Russia, and it is true.

However, not everything in this respect depends on ourselves. In the past three years the barometer of relations between Ukraine and Russia very seldom said "fair." There is obviously still some resentment against Ukraine, as though it were an ungrateful daughter-in-law wishing to live in her own house. It can be seen in the unilateral decision-making on the issues of legal succession to the former Soviet Union regarding both property abroad and the stance on nuclear disarmament, as well as on a number of other issues.

Most menacing of all, however, were the territorial claims against Ukraine. Coming from a nuclear state, these claims were unprecedented in the postwar history of interstate relations. Rudely neglecting the fundamental principles and norms of international law, its own international commitments, as well as the treaty between Ukraine and Russia of 13 November 1990, Russia's parliament on 9 July this year adopted a resolution on the status of the city of Sevastopol alleging that this city has Russian federal status. The absence of legal grounds for this decision is obvious, and that has been confirmed by the United Nations Security Council. [applause]

We must make a sober evaluation of the consequences and do our best to prevent the Russian parliamentarians' irresponsible actions from leading to confrontation, provoking a conflict in the Crimea, and posing a serious threat to peace and security on the European continent. Ukraine will do its best to defend its independence and territorial integrity. Everybody must realize that. Everybody must also realize that Ukraine cannot be dictated to from s position of force. [applause]

Esteemed countrymen, despite all the difficulties we have faced in building an independent state and despite the shortcomings in our everyday life, we have managed to preserve the main thing: peace in our Ukrainian home. And this is probably the most important thing today. For nothing can be compared to the price of human life.

I emphasize this because we are all witnesses to the consequences of ill-considered, if not adventurist, steps made by some politicians. Wars are ablaze on the territory of the states, former republics, of the former Soviet Union. Innocent people are dying. What is particularly horrible is that children are also dying. A particularly bitter lesson is being taught by Yugoslavia, where 200,000 residents have already been killed and over 2 million have become refugees. The people find themselves in a situation where even garbage bins are rationed.

That is why each of us, every statesman, every leader of a political party or public association, politicians of all ranks, and all adult citizens of Ukraine must be aware of their personal responsibility for their actions and the fate of Ukraine. We must have enough wisdom to prevent similar tragic consequences. [applause]

Esteemed friends, two years in the history of a state are only a passing moment. But these two years contained many events, sentiments, and hopes, providing a rich experience and a valuable lesson. We live in a wonderful country, and we have the necessary productive, scientific, technical, and personnel potential to make it a prosperous and happy one, for all citizens.

Let us turn to the patriarch of Ukrainian statehood, Mykhaylo Hrushevskyy [head of Ukraine's first democratic government in 1917], who, reflecting on Ukraine's historical destiny, wrote prophetically: We happen to believe that Ukraine exists not only for Ukrainians, but for all those living in Ukraine, and who, living here, love it, and loving it, wish to work for the good of the country and its people, to serve it, not to rob it, not to exploit it for their own needs.

Would you not say he wrote this for us, about us? So let us strengthen and develop our common native state together. Let us cherish it for the sake of each of us, for the well-being and happiness of all.

Happy holiday. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Belarus

Shushkevich Comments Following Meeting With Yeltsin

LD2008145393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1352 GMT 20 Aug 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Vladimir Glod for TASS]

[Text] Minsk August 20 TASS—"After a meeting with the Russian president, the executive authorities of Belarus and Russia will solve the credit line issue in the immediate future to give us a possibility to receive more oil and gas," Belarusian Parliament head Stanislav Shushkevich told a news conference on Moscow visit results here today.

Still, no super-changes shall be expected, since Belarus now has to live within its means, said Shushkevich. "If we do not stop squandering and disorder, we will not improve the situation with additional oil, gas and electricity deliveries," he noted.

In the words of Shushkevich, Belarus is not satisfied with the clearing system in relations with Russia. He said they "want upgraded forms of relations with the Russian Federation".

The meeting with Boris Yeltsin dwelt on various aspects of the Viskuliy Agreement, said the Belarusian official. Their opinion fully coincide: The Soviet Union was not ruined in Belovezhskaya Pushcha, as the country had been disintegrated de facto by that time. As for the document signing, it was the first attempt of integration at a new level.

Shushkevich added the interaction within the Commonwealth framework must be put on a legal basis, which will help to increase its efficiency.

Notes Support for Ruble

LD2308181593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1415 GMT 23 Aug 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Larisa Lazar for TASS]

[Text] Minsk, 23 Aug—Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich said that the state was intending to take steps to revive the economy; these steps may be rather painful. Stanislav Shushkevich made this statement during his tour of Belarus' Polesye areas which had suffered from floods in July.

"The main challenge is to implement the stabilization of the financial system," Stanislav Shushkevich underlined. "If we take the path of stabilization, if we desire to live in a close economic alliance with Russia and other Commonwealth states, then we must play by one set of rules. We must stabilize the ruble or another currency which may be introduced in the republic," Stanislav Shushkevich said. He underlined, however, that he personally remained a supporter of the ruble. [passage omitted]

Investigation Finds Spy Chief's Death Possible Suicide

AU2208134493 Paris AFP in English 0040 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] Minsk, Aug 22 (AFP)—Investigators leading an inquiry into the death of the head of the Belarus spy services Colonel Mikhail Zhukovets believe he may have committed suicide, the Minsk investigating magistrate Vladimir Kolotov told AFP.

Kolotov said initial inquiries had shown that Colonel Zhukovets fell from the balcony of his 10th floor apartment on the night of July 13 to 14.

The colonel was "half drunk" when he arrived home that evening. And apparently after a row with his wife who was alone with him in the apartment, he went out onto the balcony and fell. Noone witnessed his fall and the body was discovered by his wife.

Zhukovets' parents and colleagues described him as "calm and level-headed, with no signs of depression", the magistrate said.

However, according to one KGB officer in Belarus who asked to remain anonymous, experts are baffled by some aspects of the case.

They are particularly surprised that the body was found 7.6 metres (about 24 feet) from the wall of the apartment block after a fall of 27 metres (about 83 feet).

This "abnormal" distance rules out the possibility of an accident, but also raises doubts about the suicide theory, the officer said, adding that Zhukovets could have been defenestrated.

Moldova

Snegur Warns Yeltsin on Actions by 'Reactionary Forces'

LD2308161293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1445 GMT 23 Aug 93

[By MOLDOVA-PRES for TASS]

[Text] Chisinau, 23 Aug—Moldovan President Mircea Snegur has called on Russian President Boris Yeltsin "to do his utmost to enhance trust between the peoples of the two countries and to eliminate artificial barriers which are being erected in relations between them."

The press service of the republic's Foreign Ministry said today that in a letter sent to the Russian president, Mircea Snegur spoke of problems which have arisen "as a result of the destructive activities of reactionary forces in Russia, aimed at undermining the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova." He noted the "lawlessness being perpetrated by the Tiraspol leadership," especially toward political detainees, whose wives have declared a hunger strike as a mark of protest. He described the support displayed by "Russian conservatives" for the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic as "interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state."

Kazakhstan

German Defense Minister Ends Visit

LD2008151193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1402 GMT 20 Aug 93

[By KAZTAG correspondent Ivan Zakharchenko]

[Text] Almaty, August 20—A news conference of Kazakh Defence Minister Sagadat Nurmagambetov and his German counterpart Volker Ruehe stressed the importance of their meetings for further development of Kazakh-German military and economic relations.

As for the military sphere, the countries do not plan to create a bloc or a union; the most important is to render German assistance to the formation of the young Kazakh armed forces.

A protocol signed on the negotiations results dwells on

- the implementation of the treaty on reduction of conventional weapons in Europe,
- confidence-building measures,
- interaction in building of the armed forces and functioning of democratic society,
- material and technical provision of the armed forces under market economy conditions,
- elimination of ecological aftermath of military activities,
- conversion of the defence industry,
- training of military personnel.

In the words of Ruehe, Kazakhstan, being a CSCE member, has a real chance to actively contribute to the expansion of business relations between Europe and Asia. His energetic steps to convene a conference on cooperation and confidence-building measures on the Asian continent are also important.

In his turn, Sagadat Nurmagambetov said the republican armed forces have officers of different nationalities. Ethnic Kazakhs are so far the minority in the armed forces, but their number will later increase. However, this will not mean discrimination of officers on ethnic reasons. The armed forces of multinational Kazakhstan will always have officers from all peoples living in the republic.

There is plenty of ethnic German officers in the republican armed forces, some of whom occupy rather high posts.

On the same day, the German defence minister visited an air force unit to acquaint himself with the routine and training of the unit personnel.

In the evening he left Kazakhstan for Bonn.

Nazarbayev on Staying in Ruble Zone

MK2008132193 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 44, 20 Aug 93 (Signed to press 19 Aug) p 1

[Unattributed report: "Nazarbayev Thinks He Would Be A Poor President If He Did Not Expect 'Quirks'"]

[Text] Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev has stated that the republic is technically prepared to quit the ruble zone, but it is to its advantage to stay in the new ruble zone with Russia, although "they do not want to admit us;" "everything is being done for separation, rather than otherwise." If Russia should set terms under which Kazakhstan would be obliged to take paper money of the new type as state debt or credit, as well as to coordinate its financial policy with the Central Bank of Russia, that would be encroachment on sovereignty, Nazarbayev said. Parliament should specify which part of sovereignty Kazakhstan can delegate to Russia.

Nazarbayev Attends Discussions on Grain Policy

PM2408082193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 93 p 2

[KAZTAG-ITAR-TASS report: "Kazakhstan Takes Control of Grain Selling"]

[Text] This year Kazakhstan could quite possibly harvest 30 million tonnes of grain—no less than last year. This was stated by President Nursultan Nazarbayev, speaking in Akmola at a conference of the heads of administrations of oblasts and of the cities of Almaty and Leninsk in which leaders of the government and of ministries and departments connected with the agro-industrial complex' activity participated.

In the president's opinion, given such a situation, Kazakh farms, having satisfied their internal needs, will be able to sell around 16 million tonnes of commodity grain. So as not to miscalculate the price when selling it to foreign countries it would be best, the president remarked, to purchase this entire volume via the "Kazkhleboprodukt" state concern's system and then make deliveries under intergovernmental contracts in a centralized way too. But then the state would have to allocate at least 1.3 trillion rubles for this purchase, and banks do not have such vast credit resources.

Nazarbayev, stressing that there are not enough funds even to purchase the 10 million tonnes of grain determined by the state order, proposed that a limit of 7 million tonnes be set. This will adequately meet the country's domestic needs. In this case some intergovernmental agreements for grain deliveries to other states, which must be met without fail, will be met by oblasts themselves.

The conference participants supported the proposed idea, taking as a basis the farms' desire to top up their income through the free sale of their grain and consequently to acquire the necessary material and technical resources. They also showed an awareness of the fact that on no account must a melee on the foreign market be allowed to happen.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Views Economic Future With 'Confidence, Hope'

LD2208185793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0620 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] The CIS countries are to a large extent facing similar economic problems. The main thing here is to take a level-headed view of the situation. That means optimism that a way out of the crisis will be found. Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev has shown himself to be a politician able to analyze and look to the future with optimism. At a news conference, he described the social and economic situation in the republic.

[Begin Akayev recording] The results are by no means comforting. We have a continuing decline in output and national income has fallen by about 22 percent. This is of course due mainly to the fact that Kyrgyzstan does not have fuel—meaning oil and gas—resources of its own. We import 100 percent of our oil products.

What has happened in the main areas of action that we mapped out? Without a tight monetary and credit policy, without tight control over the money supply, it is very difficult to stabilize the economy. So we were forced to suggest to the republic's parliament that we adopt our own national currency. It is now operational, and we have managed to beat down inflation, which is now at 16-17 percent. I think the efforts of the republic's government and central bank will make it possible to bring inflation down to 8-10 percent by the end of the year.

Ways of supporting the som exchange rate from 1993 to 1995 have also been drawn up, and by that time, I think, the republic should set up its own gold and currency reserves, which would allow us to let the som become independent, without the support of the World Bank and the IMF.

The government has adopted a package of emergency measures affecting over 20 sites and enterprises, in particular the Kainda sugar factory due to start up in September, and this year we will have our own sugar, about 30-35,000 tonnes of it.

In addition, in September we will bring a corn-processing factory into operation, which will provide us with very valuable produce such as glucose and fructose. A sheepskin and furs factory has also started work.

Turkish investment credits began to come through this year at last. The (Toshtugdaknovskiy) radio factory, which makes television sets, will start working at full capacity, and we have received an additional credit of $25 million which will be earmarked exclusively for rural areas, to setting up small enterprises to process agricultural produce.

All this gives us confidence and hope that during the coming year, the second half of 1993, and the first half of 1994, we will be able to halt the fall in output and turn it around. [end recording]

Russian Border Troop Head Visits on Tajik Border Issues

LD2108144693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1352 GMT 21 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Bishkek August 21—Russian Border Troops Commander Colonel-General Andrey Nikolayev arrived here on Friday [20 August] night to help "consolidate security of the Tajik-Afghan border," sources at the command of Russian Border Troops in Kyrgyzstan told ITAR-TASS.

The Russian Border Troops in Tajikistan include some 300 Kyrgyz volunteers, who have joined the Ishakashim Unit. According to well-informed sources, Afghan mojahedin and militants of the Tajik opposition are concentrating in that area of the border.

The Kyrgyz armed forces command said the republican servicemen are "ready to fulfill any tasks".

The second group of volunteers has prepared for leaving Bishkek for Tajikistan, despite calls of local politicians to "return Kyrgyz volunteers home". The republic has plenty of young men who wish to test their abilities in extreme conditions on the Tajik border.

Armed Forces Main Staff To Act as Coordinating Center

LD2108051593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0230 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Text] A main staff of the Armed Forces has been set up in Kyrgyzstan. According to informed sources, the main staff will be the unifying and coordinating center of all the power structures [silovyye structury] in the republic, from the State Defense Committee to the National Security Committee. Some analysts believe that it is the exacerbation of the political and military situation in neighboring Tajikistan that has prompted the establishment of the main staff.

First Conference of Muslims Held; 250 Attend

LD2108141693 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Russian 2300 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Summary] The first conference of Kyrgyzstan Muslims has taken place on the outskirts of Bishkek. Attending it were 250 religious people. Osmon Ibragimov, the head of the presidential apparatus department, attended the meeting, as well as a representative from Saudi Arabia and the chairman of the Erk party. Under discussion during the meeting was the structure of organization for republican Muslims. They also elected (Kimsanbay Aidzhi Abdurachmanov) chairman of ecclesiastical board of Kyrgyzstan Muslims.

Tajikistan

Government Ready To Send Troops to Gorno-Badakhshan

LD2208191493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Aug 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The situation around Tavildara has become relatively stable. Following an agreement with the leadership of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast, the republican government intends to send its troops there—one battalion from the Interior Ministry, a company from the National Security Committee, and a military subdivision of the Defense Ministry, a total of 500 men—in order to control the situation on Pamir. Official Dushanbe is also willing to allocate 2 million rubles to set up an army which would be under the control of the Gorno-Badakhshan leadership, and if necessary to send professionals from government troops to train Gorno-Badakhshan recruits.

Gorno-Badakhshan Security Officials Dismissed

PM2308125393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Aug 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Marina Lebedeva and Aleksandr Karpov: "Gorno-Badakhshan Power Ministry Leaders Removed"]

[Text] Bulbulshoyev, chief of the [Gorno-Badakhshan] Oblast Internal Affairs Administration; Military Commissar Toshmukhammedov; and Oblast KGB Chairman Mukairshoyev were recently removed from their leadership positions by order of the relevant republic departments.

Colonel Saidasanov, former military commandant of Kurgan-Tyube, has been appointed to the main militia position; and Colonel Sulaymonbekov, a former staffer at the republic's National Security Committee, has been appointed KGB chairman. It is not yet known who will be military commissar.

In conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent Balkh Zamirov, chairman of Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast Oblispolkom [Oblast Soviet Executive Committee], described the top-level personnel changes as "uncoordinated and unjustified." The head of the oblast stated that the "uncoordinated cadre policy is having a negative impact on the sociopolitical situation in Badakhshan."

IZVESTIYA's Tajikistan correspondent approached the republic's Defense Ministry, National Security Committee, and Ministry of Internal Affairs for an explanation. Tajikistan's Defense Minister A. Shishlyannikov and A. Kuptsov, deputy minister of the State National Security Committee, confirmed that the aforementioned leaders had been removed from their jobs, stating that the orders had been coordinated with the Gorno-Badakhshan administration.

Regarding Bulbulshoyev, chief of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast Internal Affairs Administration, G. Blinov, the republic's first deputy minister of internal affairs, stated that this man is working in his former job and no administrative measures have been taken against him.

Meanwhile the Gorno-Badakhshan leadership sent a statement to the republic's Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers on 18 August firmly denouncing the personnel changes. The statement also demands that the orders be canceled and that action be taken against the officials who issued them.

Rakhmanov Meets Delegation Before Badakhshan Visit

LD2308201393 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Supreme Soviet Chairman Imamali Rakhmanov today met with a delegation from Khoatlon Oblast, which is preparing to visit Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast.

In his address to the delegates, Rakhmanov asked that they visit all the rayons in the area to meet and talk with work teams, veterans, prominent people, and well-known cultural figures.

Rakhmanov asked that they convey his wishes to stabilize the situation in all fields of life. Mukhammad Ubaydullayev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, also attended the talks.

This evening the delegation from Khoatlon Oblast headed by Navoshin Yuriy Konstantinovich, deputy chairman of the oblast's executive committee, arrived in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast.

Garibsho Shahbozov, chairman of the Soviet of Peoples' Deputies of Badakhshan Oblast; Bakhtiyor Zamirov, chairman of the oblast's executive committee; and leaders of enterprises and organizations welcomed the guests at Khorog airport.

The official visit's main aim is to improve the friendship and cooperation—which were destroyed as a result of the war—between the peoples of Badakhshan and Khoatlon.

Uzbekistan

Karimov Receives Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister

LD2308181093 Tashkent UZBEKISTAN APN in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] [No dateline as received]—President Islam Karimov of the Republic of Uzbekistan, received the personal representative of the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Mahmud Va'ezi. There was an exchange of views on the further development and expansion of bilateral relations, and on the reasons and ways of easing the tension that has arisen in the region, including on the Tajik-Afghan border. They also examined a range of other issues of mutual interest.

Afghan General's Visit, Credentials Pondered

PM2008151393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Aug 93 First Edition p 3

[Shakhabutdin Zaynutdinov report: "Afghan General Dostom Promises To Free Russian Border Guards"]

[Text] Tashkent—Uzbekistan has played host for three days to an official Afghan delegation headed by Army General Abdol Rashid Dostom, Afghan President B. Rabbani's special representative.

Local observers consider this fact sensational and highly significant because the delegation head is an ethnic Uzbek, the son of a poor peasant family, and the leader of the Islamic national movement of northern Afghanistan. Now he is for the first time paying an official visit to his ancestral homeland, although confidential sources in Tashkent report that the general has visited before. The very fact that he is visiting as President B. Rabbani's fully authorized representative shows that a new page is being turned in cooperation between Uzbekistan and Afghanistan, and in the peaceful settlement of the tension on the Tajik-Afghan border and the vexed knot of problems around it.

Judging by statements made by the general himself, the movement headed by Dostom controls 14 of the 31 Afghan provinces, including those which border Uzbekistan. Incidentally, Dostom's right-hand man and cochairman of the movement is Nematollah Rasoli, professor of Uzbek language and literature at Balkh University (in the city of Mazar-e Sharif), who is also the movement's ideologue.

According to its leaders this organization stands for a democratic Islamic state and a united and independent Afghanistan, opposes any manifestations of nationalism or separatism, and rejects outright the ideas ascribed to it—whether about the alleged creation of a republic of northern Afghanistan, or about joining the Central Asian states of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.

According to Dostom and Rasoli, the "Tajik card" is being played by supporters of Hekmatyar, who are trying to set them against their northern neighbors. They are doing everything to provoke clashes on the border with Tajikistan and are training gunmen. Talking about Tajik refugees, Army Gen. Dostom explained at the Tashkent talks that a special commission to help the refugees is at work in Mazar-e Sharif. It is headed by Colonel General Zhorabek [name as published], Dostom's deputy. Tent villages have been set up in Balkh, Badakhshan, Konduz, and Takhar Provinces together with representatives of the UN mission. Dostom's supporters are helping refugees return to their home areas in the border town of Termez in conjunction with the Uzbek authorities and with the help of the UN mission.

Discussing the fate of the Russian and Kazakhstani border guards held hostage, Gen. Dostom clearly hinted that on his return home he would immediately tackle this problem and make every effort to have them released.

Armenia

Karabakh Forces Said Observing Cease-Fire Unilaterally

NC2308204693 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] The last units of the Azerbaijani Army left the town of Fizuli on 22 August for no apparent reason, taking with them artillery, rocket launchers, and armored cars.

Yet the Azerbaijani media have raised a new hue and cry today over the alleged occupation of Fizuli by the Armenians.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Defense Army headquarters has again reiterated that no attack at all was launched on Fizuli; rather, the soldiers were ordered not to enter the deserted city. Most probably the city was abandoned as a result of the internal political conflict in Azerbaijan and in order to intensify the international uproar instigated by Turkey.

The NKR Defense Army headquarters stated that according to the latest reports, relative calm prevails in Karabakh's southeastern sector. Karabakh forces are unilaterally observing the cease-fire agreement, though Azerbaijani artillery shelled the defensive position in Askeranskiy Rayon today.

Also, the Azerbaijani formations are periodically trying advance from Kubatlinskiy Rayon toward the Lachin corridor. Their efforts have been unsuccessful so far.

The Azerbaijani formations deployed in Nakhichevan used large-caliber machine guns and firearms to fire on Khndzoresk and Bartsruni in Vaykskiy Rayon between 1700 and 2000 on 22 August. They also fired rocket-propelled grenades between 2300 and 2400.

The Armenian Defense Ministry press service reported that no serious incidents have been registered on the Armenian-Azerbaijani borders since last night.

Azerbaijanis Shell Askeranskiy Rayon

LD2308191793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1308 GMT 23 Aug 93

[By ARMENPRESS correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Yerevan, 23 Aug—According to operational information received by an ARMENPRESS correspondent at the headquarters of the Nagorno-Karabakh defense Army, Azerbaijani artillery bombarded Karabakh positions in Askeranskiy rayon this morning. Azerbaijani military subunits attempted to move from Kubatly toward the Lachin Corridor.

Background of New Defense Minister Detailed

NC2408110193 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] We already reported that with a decree signed by the Armenian president, Serzh Azati Sargisyan has been appointed defense minister. Now we present a brief biography of our minister:

Serzh Azati Sargisyan was born in 1954 in Stepanakert. He graduated from the local [name indistinct] intermediary school. He served in the Soviet Army between 1972 and 1974. He then completed his studies at the philological faculty at the Yerevan University by attending evening classes. He worked as a lathe operator at the Yerevan electrical-technical factory in 1975. He moved to Stepanakert in 1979 and started working in Komsomol and party organs. He was first secretary of the Stepanakert Komsomol between 1983 and 1985. He was assistant to the first secretary of the Communist Party oblast committee of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast until 1988. He became involved in the organization of Nagorno-Karabakh's self-defense in 1988. He has been the chairman of the Self-Defense Committee of Karabakh since 1991. Serzh Sargisyan is also people's deputy in the supreme soviets of Armenia and of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. He is married and has two daughters.

ASALA Threatens Passage of Azeri Oil Through Turkey

NC2208192893 Paris AFP in English 1909 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] Beirut, Aug 22 (AFP) - A clandestine Armenian group on Sunday [22 August] threatened to bar the passage of oil from Azerbaijan through a pipeline to be built by major international firms in eastern Turkey, on land it claims.

In a statement issued in English in Beirut, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) said that while Armenian forces were winning battles against Azeri forces in the Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan, the U.S. and Britain were negotiating oil deals with Turkey to receive and distribute Azeri oil transported in an overland pipeline.

It said it "will not allow the passing of the Pan-Turkic international pipeline through occupied lands of western Armenia (whatever it is known today as eastern Turkey), because Turkey continues its colonial and genocidal policy towards the Armenian and Kurdish people."

ASALA warned all the parties involved and the oil companies representing them—the U.S.' AMOCO (Standard Oil of Indiana), Penzoil, Unocal, Dermot, British Petroleum, Norway's Statoil, Turkey's Potash and Petroleum firms as well as Azerbaijan's Sokar company.

Unless a rightful solution is found to the Armenian problem, "the occupying Turkish regime and its supporters are responsible and therefore face the consequences of their acts," the statement said.

ASALA did not specify what measures it may take.

Azerbaijan

Aliyev Addresses Nation on Gumbatov Rebellion

LD2308194693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1441 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Report from Baku by correspondent Islam Kuliyev]

[Text] Geydar Aliyev, acting president of the republic and chairman of the Supreme Soviet, addressed the Azerbaijani people on national television today. The emotional address, which lasted almost 45 minutes, was devoted to the domestic political situation in the republic.

Noting that Azerbaijan is going through difficult times connected with the consequences of the June events, the five-year war, the loss of part of its territory, and the immense number of refugees, Geydar Aliyev stated that many of these problems, including our recent failures on the frontline, can be explained to a large extent by the acts of subversion and provocation by various forces in the republic rather than by the inability of the Azerbaijani people and its armed forces to defend their territorial integrity. He cited as examples of such acts of subversion the activity of the head of the head of executive power of Dzhebrailskiy rayon and his entourage, who are spreading rumors and sowing panic among the local population, and also, and chiefly, the activity of Alikram Gumbatov who, by proclaiming the Talysh-Mugan republic, is trying to alienate the people of Azerbaijan and split the country into separate territorial formations.

Recalling that the processes occurring in the southern region of the republic were recently discussed by the National Assembly and also at a meeting with representatives of the seven southern rayons, Geydar Aliyev stated that the decisions adopted on this score have met with the approval of the bulk of the population and stimulated political activity among residents of the Lenkoranskiy, Dzhalilabadskiy, Astarinskiy, and adjacent rayons, who protested against the treacherous policy of Alikram Gumbatov. Rallies attended by thousands of people were held there, which Alikram Gumbatov attempted to dispel with the aid of the forces supporting him. Shots were even fired, though into the air rather than at people. However, this move failed, and Alikram Gumbatov was forced to flee in an unknown direction with his supporters and is now urgently gathering forces to bring pressure to bear on the leadership of Azerbaijan, said Geydar Aliyev.

He also added that, in accordance with his decree, a new head of executive power has been appointed in Lenkoran today. He is [word indistinct] (Dzhamalova). The acting president stated that heads of executive power in the republic's other southern rayons will also be appointed today.

Geydar Aliyev said he is sure that no one faithful to the interests of Azerbaijan will support the criminal ventures of Alikram Gumbatov with the exception, perhaps, of a small group of his supporters, mafia and renegades. He warned, however, that should they continue their spheres of activity, Gumbatov and his stooges will receive even more severe punishment.

Geydar Aliyev also addressed all servicemen—officers and men—who are on the frontline. He expressed gratitude for the selflessness which they are showing in the fight for the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, and appealed to servicemen subordinate to Gumbatov not to obey his commands but to come over to the side of the legitimate authorities.

At the same time, the head of the republic appealed to the whole population of Azerbaijan to show restraint and calm and not to permit a fratricidal war. He voiced confidence that political good sense and civic accord will eventually prevail in the republic and that peace and calm will reign.

TV Carries Speech

NC2308194093 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1608 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Address to the nation by Acting President and National Assembly Chairman Geydar Aliyev on 23 August; place not given—recorded; monitored in progress]

[Text]... I appeal to their elders and intellectuals. This is the essence of my appeal: Rise up against these impudent people, traitors, and persons who want to dismember the people and the state. Display your own strength and courage, because there is no security in that region.

I also call on all the citizens of the Azerbaijan Republic to express their consensus with us, and let them join this legal and just action of the Republic's leadership. Undoubtedly, I am not calling on people to fight with each other. I have always favored peace, and favor peace even today. I even want the bitter war with Armenia to end in peace. Therefore, I am not calling on you to fight with each other; rather, I urge you act with responsibility, human dignity and honor. I hope that these values have not vanished from among most of our people; these values exist and they will be displayed.

However, availing myself of this opportunity, I will touch upon a few problems: It is obvious that there have been certain rumors in Azerbaijan. During the National Assembly's 16-17 August session, I asked why provocations are being organized there, why should a state be established there. There are conflicting rumors that

Alikram Gumbatov is in collusion with Ayaz Mutalibov and with Mutalibov's armed forces in Baku, or that other forces [passage indistinct], or that the People's Front will reemerge here again.

I [words indistinct]. In this difficult day for Azerbaijan, at a time when its domestic stability has been disturbed, different persons, who pursue their own personal goals, like Rakhim Gaziyev and others like him, are resorting to various ugly acts [words indistinct]. In an effort to attain their own aims, different groups are resorting to such acts.

However, I believe that the Azerbaijani people and Baku residents will raise their objections and [word indistinct] to all such movements, will defend Azerbaijan's statehood, and will give the appropriate reply when such movements arise.

I hereby address certain people: I bear no arms myself. I have neither cannons nor [words indistinct]. However, I have the determination and the will, and I believe that people support me as is shown by the fact that the people have pinned their hopes on me and given this mandate to me, and I have assumed the duty to extricate the people from this grave situation.

Therefore, I fear neither [words indistinct], nor the forces who plot [words indistinct]. I fear nothing. I have said it before and I will say it again: I dedicate the rest of my life to the people. [passage indistinct] I serve the people each moment, each day, day and night; I serve no other force. And no force could pressure me. [passage indistinct] I am fulfilling the people's will. I am defending the statehood and (?independence) of the Azerbaijani Republic. No one can stop me or push me off this path. However, I am only a single person and might not have been around to do this job. The talk here is about the Azerbaijani statehood [words indistinct]. However, I will not allow different groups to continue auctioning off Azerbaijan's fate [words indistinct]. I too have people to do this job.

Therefore, I call on all the compatriots and citizens, people, all the armed forces, political parties, and the people: For the sake of the Azerbaijani Republic and statehood we now need unity, national consensus, national togetherness, cohesion among the citizens [words indistinct] (?in order) to defend and recover our lands, to secure Azerbaijan's territorial integrity, to defend and protect Azerbaijan's independence. Therefore, I call on those forces among you who want to pursue their own interests: All your efforts are (?in vain), none of your acts will produce any result, none of them [words indistinct] because the people have become conscious and [words indistinct]. No force can withstand the people. For my part, had the people not felt the need for me in these critical days, I would (?leave in the morning). However, according to information reaching me, the people have pinned their hopes on me, and to justify this trust I have dedicated the rest of my life to the people. Therefore, I felt the need to tell you these things.

I again call on the people living in rayons surrounding Lenkoranskiy Rayon to be firm and courageous, defend their citizens' responsibility, and put criminals like Alikram Gumbatov to shame, and reinstate their own local administrations. An executive authority has been appointed for Lenkoran. I call on people in Lenkoran to support the executive body and help it to function.

Heads of executive authorities have been appointed to (?other) rayons today. I call on the people to defend these organs and create the opportunity for them to function.

I call on the people at this grave time who wish for patience, prudence and [words indistinct].

I wish for patience for the Azerbaijani people in these grave days, I express my love and [word indistinct] to the Azerbaijani people and citizens, and I again want to bring to your attention that I will try to justify the trust placed in me. I am on your side. The Azerbaijan Republic will survive and will function as an independent state, Azerbaijan's territorial integrity will be maintained, and national consensus and brotherhood will be achieved inside Azerbaijan.

Thank you for your attention.

Gumbatov Supporters, Opponents Clash in Lenkoran

NC2308150093 Baku TURAN in English 1257 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Baku, August 23 (TURAN)—Today at 12.30 the conflict between the soldiers of the rebellious Colonel Alikram Gumbatov and the local population, who were taking part in the rally in front of the building of the executive power took place.

To the reports of the press-center of PFA [People's Front of Azerbaijan] the soldiers of A. Gumbatov were the first to open the fire. As the telephone girls said, the exchange of fire goes on in the city. There are killed and wounded on both sides. The chief of the hospital was arrested by unknown people and was driven away in the unknown direction.

To the report of the Halg Azadlig Party [People's Freedom Party], today at the rally in Lenkoran the soldiers of A. Gumbatov opened fire at the air.

The chief of the department on social supply of the stuff and on the information of the Azeri Ministry of Internal Affairs Khamid Dzhafarov disproved the reports about the armed conflict and the victims among the civilians. To the reports of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the participants of the rally seized the building of the executive power today. Gumbatov himself escaped. There is no information about the killed and wounded.

August 22 the activists of the parties "Yeni Azerbaijan", "Musavat", "Halg Azadlig", "Vahid Azerbaijan", "Milli Birlik" hold a rally, at which they welcomed the decision of Milli Mejlis, condemning the actions of A. Gumbatov.

Yesterday, during the dispersal of the rally the soldiers of Gumbatov arrested the two activists.

The Azeri TV reported, that the speech of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet G. Aliyev is to be broadcasted.

As known, August 7 Colonel A. Gumbatov declared so-called Talysh-Mugan Autonomous Republic (TMAR), to be the sovereign republic forming a part of Azerbaijan.

So-called (TMAR) contains 7 bordering with Iran regions the total population of which is more than 707.9 thousand people. 20 of them are of Talysh origin (Persian speaking). 126 thousand people live in Lenkoran itself. The eminent representatives of the Talysh people have condemned the creation of TMAR.

Casualties Reported

NC2308153293 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1224 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Baku, 23.08.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—We don't need any other republic than Azerbaijan says one of the items of the resolution, adopted at the yesterday meeting held in the centre of Lenkoran town. About 1,000 opponents of Alikram Gumbatov's regime stated, that neither him nor his adherents expressed views of Lenkoran people and Milli Mejlis decision must be carried into effect as soon as possible. Today, August 23, the meeting continued, but according to APF's [Azerbaijan People's Front] information department, soldiers under A. Gumbatov's command, opened the fire on its participants. There are killed and wounded. The head doctor of the town hospital was seized and taken to unknown direction.

According to the statement of A. Gumbatov's press-secretary, the meeting was organized by local departments of the APF and "Musavat" party.

Aliyev Says Gumbatov Flees

NC2408132993 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1206 GMT 24 Aug 93

[Text] Baku 24.08.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—3 persons perished in Lenkoran for the sake of Azerbaijan sovereignty and territorial integrity, said today, August 24, Geydar Aliyev addressing the extended session in the republican parliament. People replied to my yesterday TV address by blocking the building of the HQ of Alikram Gumbatov. His supporters started shooting that resulted in 3 men killed and 5 got wounded, remarked G. Aliyev. The participants stood in honor of the heroes. A. Gumbatov and a group of his armed supporters succeeded to flee to Lenkoran woods but he is searched for and will appear in court. So, drastic measures turned to be successful, said G. Aliyev. Though there are casualties, legitimate power in Lenkoran is restored.

Further Aliyev Comment

LD2408133193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1316 GMT 24 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS corresponents Sevinzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku Aug 24 TASS - Three people died and five were wounded in Monday clashes in southern Azeri city of Lenkoran, Geydar Aliyev, acting president of Azerbaijan, told an all-republic meeting in Baku today. Gunmen loyal to the rebel colonel Alikram Gumbatov used weapons against their opponents protesting against his "criminal actions aimed at the breakup of the rebublic", he said.

Aliyev said Gumbatov had fled the city of Lenkoran where he had spent a night at a military base headquarters, surrounded by angry demonstrators. Now with a group of his armed supporters Gumbatov is hiding in the nearby forest. "Law enforcement agencies are searching for the criminals who will not get away unpunished", Aliyev said.

According to the acting president, the events in Lenkoran had resulted from "criminal actions af Alikram Guseynov [as received] and his entourage supported by ex-president Ayaz Mutalibov and ex-minister of defence Ragim Gaziyev".

Assessing the situation in the republic, Aliyev stressed that "Azerbaijan is living through one of the most grievous periods of its history associated with the war on its territory". The situation is aggravated "by the provocative actions of different political forces banking on the ordeal to reach their own ends". "Instead of a united army we have dispersed armed groups subordinate to political and mafia clans", he said, calling this the main reason for military set-backs.

National Assembly Adopts Resolution on Gumbatov

NC2308155493 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] The resolution the Azerbaijan National Assembly has adopted on the situation in the front lines said the following:

Several illegal armed groups that have recently benefited from the tense social, political, and military situation in the republic are trying to commit treachery against our state and territorial integrity. One of the illegal groups, which are not under the Azerbaijan Defense Ministry's control, has been headed by Alikram Gumbatov in Lenkoran for a long time. The acts of violence, terrorist activities, uncontrolled behavior, and violation of human rights by Gumbatov and his nationalist and [word indistinct] band against the local people have been deemed criminal activities. The breach of Azerbaijan's

Constitution and laws and the plot against our Republic's territorial integrity have been regarded as an act of treachery against our state.

The resolution noted that the military base illegally taken over by Alikram Gumbatov must be unconditionally placed under the Azerbaijan Defense Ministry's control. It also noted: Measures must be taken to ensure that Azerbaijan's Constitution is heeded, the Republic's laws are applied, and the functions of the government organs are fully restored in Lenkoran, Astara, Masally, Merich, Yardymly, Sabirabad, and Bilesuvar Rayons. Measures must also be taken to obstruct every kind of criminal activity in those rayons and [words indistinct]. The National Assembly must be informed on the situation.

Aliyev Interviewed on Political Situation, Beliefs

LD2308202993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Interview with Acting President and National Assembly Chairman Geydar Aliyev by correspondent Andrey Karaulov in Baku; date not given; from the "Moment of Truth" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Karaulov] [passage omitted] Well, let's begin.

[Aliyev] Yes, let's.

[Karaulov] [passage omitted] Why was Mutalibov so afraid of you three years ago?

[Aliyev] You know, I don't think this is somebody I need to talk about or explain anything about today. I consider him simply not worth it.

[Karaulov] And Elchibey?

[Aliyev] In what sense?

[Karaulov] You called Mutalibov a nonentity.

[Aliyev] Yes.

[Karaulov] In an interview with SOBESEDNIK you called Elchibey morally depraved.

[Aliyev] Yes. [passage omitted]

[Karaulov] People recalled you out of desperation. What do you think?

[Aliyev] You know, Andrey Viktorovich, once again this is a very big question and it is unlikely that I can give an exhaustive answer in a short time. But nonetheless I will say very briefly that the people themselves cannot determine their fate. If we refer to the history of mankind, the fate of the people has always been determined by leaders, politicians, warlords, the more intellectual part of society. What happened to us in general, in the former Soviet Union, including in particular in Azerbaijan? [passage omitted]

The people were not independent. You understand, the masses cannot be independent. The people have always been led—by various forces at various points. [passage omitted]

My arrival here, my return to Baku, was not something that happened on the spur of the moment. Through all those years that I spent in Nakhichevan, various groups were calling on me to come here. Incidentally, in March 1992, when Mutalibov was forced to retire under pressure, at the demand of the people, many different delegations came to me in Nakhichevan, from the intelligentsia, from various circles of the people, and started to call me to Baku insistently. I refused. Another period came. On 14 May 1992 Mutalibov and his armed supporters took the presidential throne back by force. He lasted one day, then flew away to Moscow where he is hiding to this day. [passage omitted]

On 18 May there was a parliamentary sitting. My candidacy was put forward in my absence. Part of the deputies demanded that the sitting be stopped and Aliyev be invited to it. I was in my office with correspondents from all over the world, because of the armed conflict between Armenia and Nakhichevan, which was something new. The deputies demanded that the parliamentary sitting be stopped and Aliyev be contacted and called to Baku. They stopped it, called an adjournment. Ninety minutes later they came back and said they had called Baku... [pauses] Nakhichevan and could not reach Aliyev. Aliyev was not at work, Aliyev was not at home, they said he was somewhere on the border, when I never left my office. [passage omitted]

I was not thinking about coming back here. Believe me, if that National Front could have governed Azerbaijan I would have been happy, because the fate of Azerbaijan for me comes before my personal interests. The fate of my people comes before my personal interests. So I simply, calmly, as best as I could governed that autonomous republic, subjected as it was to all kinds of possible discrimination, both during the Mutalibov period and during the Abulfaz Elchibey period. [passage omitted]

I am not making excuses for that regime. You know that in the Kremlin in Moscow in July 1991, where I was a part of the party organization, I made a statement and left the Communist Party. I have my own complaints about the communist regime and the communist leadership under Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. But I cannot distance myself from it. [passage omitted]

[Karaulov] I have read in the paper that you now believe in God and go to a mosque.

[Aliyev] Yes.

[Karaulov] You have embraced Islam. How come, Geydar Aliyevich?

[Aliyev] The same as it is in Moscow! The president of Russia goes to church and takes part in all these, what you might call it, religious ceremonies. On Sundays he takes the kids to church. [passage omitted] After all, each man returns to his religion. We were isolated from religion and I regard it as an abnormal phenomenon.

[Karaulov] Geydar Aliyevich, excuse me, I like you very much and that is why, do forgive me, another brazen question of mine, but, in God's name, you have now turned to God. Shevardnadze too, just like you. You know, he also left the Communist Party, he also turned to God, he even took on a new name—Georgiy. Well, in God's name, why is it that Politburo members turned to God so late in the day? Geydar Aliyevich, you somehow did it together, synchronously, as it were. Does it not surprise you?

[Aliyev] You know, in the first place it was not simultaneously. It is in vain that you think it was so, maybe it is some new campaign, what? In the second place, I did not change my name. [passage omitted]

[Karaulov] Has Azerbaijan now turned more toward Russia, Geydar Aliyevich?

[Aliyev] You know, Azerbaijan never turned its back on Russia, never. For 200 years Azerbaijan was a part of Russia. If some people think that these 200 years can be obliterated in the space of one or two years, turned to oblivion, extirpated, they are simply very far removed from life, from reality and from politics.

[Karaulov] But it was you who two years ago maintained that Azerbaijan ought to leave the Soviet Union—I do remember that speech of yours—and that armed with figures you are ready to prove to everyone that Azerbaijan could only gain from it.

[Aliyev] The Soviet Union is not Russia, you have put your question incorrectly. Russia is Russia and the Soviet Union, Soviet Union. And if you identify the Soviet Union with Russia, you are mistaken. Yes, I did say Azerbaijan ought to be independent and I say it at present, too. This is because the Soviet Union failed to justify itself. However, the fact that the Soviet Union was so clumsily and mercilessly destroyed—and you know who destroyed it, it is simply that I do not wish to name them, for some of them are not even worthy for me to name them—it is, of course, this that led to this tragedy which, generally speaking, exists today.

[Karaulov] Please tell us, what do you think—was the Soviet Union destroyed by the Belovezh agreements, or is it the case that long before that it was Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev who destroyed it?

[Aliyev] Gorbachev destroyed it. The Belovezh agreements are simply a small episode, precipitating it. [passage omitted]

[Karaulov] You hate Gorbachev?

[Aliyev] Well, why should I? I have no such feelings toward anyone. To be specific, with regard to Azerbaijan, and leaving aside his personal attitude toward me, well, on 20 January he introduced troops to Baku and carried out what amounted to a military aggression, you know? Why? In order to save the regime of the Communist Party in Azerbaijan. If he was really a democrat, if he really wanted democracy to develop in Azerbaijan... [pauses] in the Soviet Union, what difference did it make to him what force was going to be in power in Azerbaijan? [passage omitted]

I believe we have still not lost the chance to establish peace between Armenia and Azerbaijan, even though it may not please everybody. And if I am allowed to continue my work here, I will work toward that. [passage omitted]

Yesterday I spoke with Levon Ter-Petrosyan, president of Armenia. I had previous contacts with him, but yesterday I spoke to him on the telephone. We had a conversation. It was at his request. He suggested, and I agreed, that we report this telephone conversation to the press, and yesterday the press in Armenia and Azerbaijan reported it and Moscow television also carried it. We agreed a five-day cease-fire, so that there is no firing. I want to continue this process and altogether achieve a more or less lasting peace, so that issues can be discussed.

Azerbaijan is in such a difficult situation, in which it would be flippant to give any kind of promises now. And I am not a flippant person. Abulfaz Elchibey said during his presidential campaign that we would end the war in two months. When asked how, he said it would be very simple, we would strengthen our borders, Armenians would depart and all would be ended. You understand, there is a person who is far removed from reality. But identical promises were made by other politicians eager for power—that in two years we would end the war and our territories would be returned and that we would turn Azerbaijan into another Kuwait following some period of time, and so on. You understand, these people are far removed from real life. These are people who are far removed from serious politics. These people are far removed from any thorough knowledge of how the economy works. [passage omitted]

It is because I know what's what that I am unable to give hollow promises as some have done. The situation is very complicated. It is necessary to get out of this situation. How this is to be done—I know the ways out. But time is needed for that. This is the reason why I give no promises, neither to you nor to the people. [passage omitted]

[Karaulov] You are a master of power. But do you, yourself, really feel this way?

[Aliyev] You know, this is the first time that I hear this phrase—master of power. I do not consider myself a master of power. It is simply, in view of my nature and my life and experience, that I evidently have certain qualities to, well, to rule. Well, I think that I rule quite well.

[Karaulov] Geydar Aliyevich, what do you have a surfeit of—cunning or ingenuousness?

[Aliyev] Neither one nor the other. It is simply that I have an honest, straightforward, human soul.

Armenians Continue Offensive, Seize Village

LD2408131793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 24 Aug 93

[Text] Armenian forces which are continuing their offensive after taking control of the town of Fizuli, the center of one of Azerbaijan's districts, have occupied the village of Karakhanbeyli, roughly 12 km east of Fizuli. According to reports from Yerevan, the Azerbaijan Army is attempting to attack the zone of the Lachin humanitarian corridor, which links Karabakh with Armenia. The Armenian district center of Noyemberyan has been shelled by long-range howitzers.

Troops Withdraw From Dzhebrail After Armenian Siege

NC2408094993 Paris AFP in English 0853 24 Aug 93

[Text] Dzhebrail, Azerbaijan, Aug 24 (AFP)—Azerbaijani troops have withdrawn from this key city, south of Nagorno-Karabakh, after several days' siege by Armenian forces, correspondents on the scene reported Tuesday [24 August].

A T-72 tank and several artillery pieces, including a Grad multiple rocket launcher, fired on Armenian positions for two hours late Monday to cover the withdrawal of the last Azerbaijani soldiers from the television station in the southwest of the city.

The Armenian forces took over the Azeri positions around Dzhebrail, but respected their commander's orders not to enter the city.

An AFP correspondent with five Armenian reconnaissance scouts in an outlying village saw that the city was virtually deserted.

All but the aged seemed to have fled. The city's buildings were not heavily damaged.

The retreating Azerbaijanis fled toward the Iranian border, a mere 15 kilometres (9 miles) south.

The fall of Dzhebrail means that the Armenians now control the national highway linking the regions of Zangelanskiy and Kubatlinskiy in the southwestern corner of Azerbaijan with the eastern two-thirds of the country.

The Azeris still hold the secondary roads along the Iranian border.

Fall of Goradiz Will Blockade Nakhichevan

NC2308154993 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] The Nakhichevan permanent mission in Baku has informed a KHABER SERVICE NEWS AGENCY correspondent that the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic will be completely blockaded if the Armenian occupationist units capture Goradiz in Fizulinskiy Rayon. Goradiz is the only town in Azerbaijan through which fuel and provisions are transported to Iran's border to be delivered to Nakhichevan.

Leading Rayon Officials Replaced

NC2408061693 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Text] Geydar Aliyev, acting president and chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, has decreed that Nabil Mukhtar ogly Mukhtarov be appointed head of the Kurdemir Rayon executive authority and [name indistinct] Kasumov be removed from that post; Aga Tahir ogly Eshberov be appointed as head of the Gorenboyskiy Rayon executive authority and Mashallah Babakishi ogly Abdullayev be removed from that post; Ragib Nazir ogly Rakhimov be appointed as head of the Ismailly Rayon executive authority and Rasim Vezir ogly Sharipov be removed from that post; Adzhar [name indistinct] Abdiyev be appointed as head of the Barda Rayon executive authority and Mamed Vaad ogly Aliyev be removed from that post.

Nagorno-Karabakh Official Views CSCE Plan

MK2108082693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Aug 93 p 1

[Armen Khanbabyan report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Reaction is Calm"]

[Text] Stepanakert officials have reacted calmly to the direct telephone talks between the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan. The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's foreign minister, Arkadiy Gukasyan, said that Karabakh generally approves of and welcomes such contacts as conducive to easing tensions in the region and greater trust. It is believed here, however, that Armenian-Azerbaijani consultations do not, and cannot, have a direct bearing on the problem of the Karabakh-Azeri standoff and its resolution. "If Geydar Aliyev has any questions to put to the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR], he should call Stepanakert rather than Yerevan," Arkadiy Gukasyan stressed. "Incidentally, as far as I know, the president of Armenia pointed this out for the benefit of the Azeri leader, and their discussion primarily touched upon questions pertaining to problems in relations between Yerevan and Baku."

It has also become known that, unlike Armenia, the NKR will most probably not consent to the implementation of the latest CSCE cease-fire plan. According to Stepanakert, the document contains no guarantees against possible attempts by Azerbaijan to use the strategic positions being restored to it for new military actions.

Russia's Kazimirov Interviewed on Nagorno-Karabakh

NC2308150993 Baku AZERTAC in English 1241 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Baku, August 23 (AZERTAC)—To make a step on the road to resolution of the Karabakh problem is possible if certain methods will be worked out, Vladimir Kazimirov, the Russian ambassador at large and the head of the Russian mediatory mission on Nagorno-Karabakh, said in his interview given to the AZERTAC news agency during his stay in Baku.

The Russian diplomat underlined that mutual distrust was the biggest difficulty the parties involved would have to overcome. Therefore this question has got to be looked so that confidence in cessation of hostilities and impossibility of its further renewal will become reality, the ambassador said.

This not so remote prospect can be achieved when the parties good will to solve the conflict will be provided, Vladimir Kazimirov said. Another important point is to exclude uncontrolled troops from the conflict and to take measures to disarm and disband them, and these measures will reduce cases of fire resumption and expanding of separate incident into large-scale hostilities to minimum, the ambassador thinks. Vladimir Kazimirov is convinced that it will be better to find the resolution of the Karabakh problem by means of negotiations, in the frames of political dialogue in order to prevent further destructions, victims among civilians and new stream of refugees.

Elchibey Congratulates Yeltsin on Coup Defeat Anniversary

LD2308193193 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1415 GMT 23 Aug 93

[By IBERIA-KHABAR service]

[Text] Baku, 23 Aug—Abulfaz Elchibey sent a letter of congratulations to Russian President Boris Yeltsin on the second anniversary of the victory of democracy in Russia.

In his letter, A. Elchibey emphasizes that conservative forces of the old regime "are launching an attack" and Azerbaijan has experienced it.

In conclusion, A. Elchibey wishes B. Yeltsin and the entire Russian people success on the road to democracy.

UN Representative Views Critical Needs of Refugees

NC2308154093 Baku TURAN in English 1257 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Baku, August 23 (TURAN)—Today the press-conference of the representative of the secretary-general of the UNO in Azerbaijan Mahmud al-Sa'id took place in Baku.

The diplomat told about the results of his visit to the south-west regions of Azerbaijan, that suffered the intensive attacks of the military forces of Armenia. So, to the words of Mahmud al- Sa'id, the situation in this regions remains critical. The representative of the secretary-general of the UNO said, that the population of this zone of Azerbaijan, escaping the Armenian offensive, keep fleeing their homes and moving toward the south—the Iranian border.

Mahmud al-Sa'id confirmed the information, that the international commissioner for refugees (UNHCR) have carried out the preparatory work on creation in the north of Iran the camps for the refugees from Zangelanskiy, Kubadlinskiy, Dzhebrailskiy and Fizulinskiy regions of Azerbaijan. "The total amount of the population, which can become refugees in the nearest future is about 216 thousand people. We hope for the best, but we expect the worst", Mahmud al-Sa'id pointed out.

At the same time, the representative of the secretary-general of the UNO expressed his discontent with the activities of the Azeri authorities in providing the refugees by the things of the first need. So, to the words of Mahmud al-Sa'id, the electric irons and blankets are on the list of the goods, necessary for the 200 thousand refugees, that was presented by the Azeri ambassador in the UNO Gasan Gasanov. As Mahmud al-Sa'id said, the refugees need quite the other things.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Comments on Return From Russia

LD2408091693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 24 Aug 93

[Interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian State Council, by correspondent Nino Tskhoidze at Tbilisi airport on 23 August—recorded]

[Text] [Tskhoidze] First, let me apologize because you must be very tired, but you know how interested our population is in this issue. Moreover, there are different opinions. What is your assessment of the Moscow visit?

[Shevardnadze] I have to say that we had very important meetings and reached important agreements. Uncertainty in relations with a neighbor like Russia cannot be allowed to persist for a long time. It seems to me that we are gradually moving toward normal, good-neighborly, and mutually beneficial relations between the two countries.

Over now to the main results. These include better understanding in connection with the issue of the Abkhazia conflict and specific steps for the future. The leaders of both countries welcome the participation of the United Nations and the Security Council, observers, and the dispatch of peacekeeping forces when it happens. The Russian president and I agreed that we would express our position in a joint letter to the United Nations. We stated our readiness to start the process of the return of refugees as soon as possible. Of course some facts which were discussed earlier, such as deportations, must be stopped and they will be stopped. We also spoke about long-term prospects for a final settlement and found that there was a more or less mutual understanding.

Another package of issues discussed during the talks with both the president and prime minister included economic relations at this stage and in the future. I must say that we have a vested interest in improving economic ties and receiving some credits. There are pledges. We were told this issue would be decided in the next few days. The tentative agreements on commodity circulation which existed in the past must be put in motion. We also have some hope that we may receive energy resources and grain. There are no guarantees but we may receive a certain amount of grain as a loan to be covered by credit, or it may be bartered. There were some other issues we discussed, which give us some optimism about better relations between the two countries.

We agreed that the fifth round [of talks] must be over by the end of this month. It will start and finish in August. Its participants will have to reach a final agreement on the text of all bilateral relations treaties which are to be signed between our two countries. In September, at least this is how we agreed, the signing of these treaties will take place in Georgia. This is in short what happened.

[Tskhoidze] Thank you very much.

Abkhazians Claim Troops Violate Cease-Fire

LD2408104893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1005 GMT 24 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Aug—The situation on the frontline between Georgian and Abkhaz forces is not peaceful. According to the press service of the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet, Georgian troops opened fire on Monday [23 August] evening on the villages of Bedia and Katsekhabla, using grenade launchers. Georgian military hardware has reoccupied its former positions there. The return of refugees of Georgian nationality to Sukhumi is being speeded up, in contravention of the agreement. Some members of the Georgian Army are joining up with the police force and swelling the ranks of the city commandant's office.

According to the press service, six temporary monitoring groups began work in Ochamchirskiy rayon on Monday. These include representatives of Abkhazia, Georgia, and Russia. The tripartite groups have been deployed on highway duty in the basins of the Kodor and Ingur Rivers.

Situation in Sukhumi Said Returning to Normal

LD2408134193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0700 GMT 24 Aug 93

[Text] We have learned from the Sukhumi headquarters of the press center of the Georgian Armed Forces that last night was quiet in the region. It is quiet this morning also. The opposing sides are complying with the conditions of the agreement.

Refugees are returning to Sukhumi and Ochamchire. Bread is being baked in Sukhumi, power has been fed to some districts, the streets are being cleared, and the rubble is being removed. Restoration work is in progress.

The next session of the tripartite commission is to be held tomorrow. The session will consider the issue of the return of the refugees.

Ossetians Arrive in Abkhazia for Combat Action

LD2308192393 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1521 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] Gudauta radio recently carried an interview with combatants of Ossetian nationality who made no secret of the fact that they have arrived in Abkhazia to participate in combat actions. They think that the war in Abkhazia is not over and that the aim of settling in Abkhazia forever has not yet been reached.

It has emerged that the main organizations which instigate separatist ideas are "Slovianskiy Dom" [Slav House], "Zemliachestvo Kazakov Abkhazii" [Brotherhood of Cossacks living in Abkhazia], and "Kazachestvo Yuga Rossii" [Cossacks of southern Russia], which recruit combatants for participation in the conflict and support the Abkhaz separatists financially.

Former Abkhazia Leader Comments on Situation

LD2008204193 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1510 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] Tbilisi, 20 Aug—Tamaz Nadareishvili [former leader of the Abkhazian Defense Council and Abkhazian Council of Ministers] has told an IBERIA correspondent that he is concerned about the situation in Abkhazia, especially by the fact that Georgians living permanently in Abkhazia do not participate in talks with the Abkhazian side. The talks are mainly conducted by Zhiuli

Shartava, Sandro Kavsadze, and other people, who are not completely competent on the issue.

According to Nadareishvili, it is unacceptable to withdraw Georgian troops from Abkhazia. A Georgian army corps is to be formed, and it should be stationed in Abkhazia. This is essential if Abkhazia is a constituent part of Georgia. According to Nadareishvili, lists of people who will be allowed to live in Abkhazia are being compiled. In his opinion, the only compromise the Abkhazian side will agree to is the signing of a federative treaty.

Nadareishvili said that, according to information he possesses, Nodar Khashba, who is a participant of the talks from the Abkhazian side and is a member of the tripartite commission, demands that Nadareishvili's office in Sukhumi be vacated. According to Nadareishvili, he is not intending to return to Abkhazia until the situation there allows him to, because, as he said, "only my policy should be conducted after my return to Abkhazia. Otherwise, I will not return to Abkhazia."

Gamsakhurdia Supporters Set Up Information Service, Radio

LD2408105493 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1010 GMT 24 Aug 93

[Text] Zugdidi, 24 Aug—An IBERIA correspondent reports that an information service of the so-called Republic of Georgia has been set up. It will be led by Merab Jokhua. Meanwhile, in Zugdidi a radio station "Free Georgia" is to become operational. Its editor will be Anzor Gvaramia.

Appeal Made for Release of Gamsakhurdia Supporters

LD2308173493 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1415 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Tbilisi, 23 [dateline as received]—An IBERIA correspondent reports that the All-Georgian Human Rights Association has sent an appeal to Tedo Ninidze, prosecutor general of the Georgian republic, that says:

"The All-Georgian Human Rights Association expresses grave concern over the fact that Gela Mchedlishvili, Gocha Makhviladze, and Sergo Khakhiashvili who have been arrested in connection with events at the Television Department building on 24 June 1992 are still being kept in isolation [as received]. This is despite a government manifesto of 4 August 1992, which provides for their and others' release. However, for reasons that we cannot understand, they have been isolated without trial for 12 months.

"This fact has been mentioned in the press. The All-Georgian Human Rights Association brings to your attention this outrageous fact of human rights violation.

"We appeal for you support to demand that the manifesto of 4 August 1992 be applied to political prisoners Mchedlishvili, Khakhiashvili, and Makhviladze, and they be immediately released from custody."

Gamsakhurdia Supporter Discusses Views With Groups

AU2008122093 Tbilisi SASHUALO PENA in Georgian No. 6 Aug 93 p 2

[Interview with Loti Kobalia, commander of the armed formation supporting ex-President Gamsakhurida, by David Davituri; place and date not given: "Loti Kobalia: 'Loyalty to the President Means Loyalty to Georgia'"]

[Excerpts] [Davituri] Batono [Georgian polite form of address] Loti, you are commander of the armed forces of the lawful president. Media sources belonging to the illegal authorities are spreading rumors of an alliance between you and the illegal authorities. We ask you once again to confirm for us your loyalty to the president.

[Kobalia] I do not believe that anyone should have any doubts about my loyalty to the president. [passage omitted]

As regards our alliance with the Mkhedrioni [armed formation now incorporated into the rescue corps], it was even visible from the separate positions that we took up on the flanks [a reference to their deployment in recent fighting in Abkhazia] that we were avoiding any conflict and confrontation. Therefore, there is absolutely no alliance between us. I have always said that I will not shoot Georgians. The present government is probably arranging an alliance between us and robbers, thieves, and drug addicts in order to discredit the armed forces of the lawful authorities. Naturally, this is no such alliance. As for loyalty to the president, this means loyalty to Georgia, as he was chosen by the people and the nation and, therefore, we must stand by him.

[Davituri] We know that Tengiz Kitovani [former minister of defense], Akaki Asatiani [chairman of the Union of Traditionalists, former parliamentary chairman under Gamsakhurdia], Irakli Tsereteli [leader of the National Independence Party], Tengiz Dikhaminjia, and others have been to see you. If it is not a secret, can you tell us what the aim of this visit was?

[Kobalia] Of course it is not a secret. Very many people from the opposition forces come to see me. Those who are still of sound judgment can see that we indeed do not shoot Georgians and that we are not robbers. Together with them, we are searching for ways to unite the nation and regulate the present conflict. The most important thing is that everyone unanimously recognizes that the current authorities must resign. The current authorities are simply traitors and are against the Georgian nation.

[Davituri] You were recently a guest of Batoni Aslan Abashidze [chairman of the Ajarian Autonomous Republic Supreme Council]. Could you tell us about this meeting? It is interesting to know Batoni Aslan's position regarding the current processes.

[Kobalia] Ajaria is the only region in Georgia that has not been plundered and ravaged. I wanted to go there to show both the Ajarians and the whole of Georgia that we will struggle against those who are provocatively trying to split the different regions of Georgia. This idea initially arose when they [the Mkhedrioni] said: We have taken Senaki; we have taken Zugdidi. It was then that we declared mobilization and summoned a certain part of our forces to show the people that we were dealing with that not just the "Mingrelian" phenomenon but the whole of Georgia was involved here.

Our meetings in Ajaria were held at a very high level. Rumors were spread that I had gone there to wage war. There were Georgian, Russian, and foreign journalists there. I announced to them that if anyone was to move against Ajaria, I would be the first to wage war against them. When this was broadcast and understood by the people, they rushed to the Ajarian Supreme Council building and declared their support for me. I believe that it is precisely in this way that we can quash any rumors concerning mutual opposition between regions. In answer to provocative questions put by Russian journalists such as what we thought about the future of Samegrelo and Georgia, Aslan Abashidze and I stated worthily that Georgia is unified and no one can divide the Georgian nation.

As regards Aslan Abashidze's position, he is convinced that everything has to be regulated and in a peaceful way. Moreover, certain steps have already been taken to this end.

He stated on one occasion that he loved Tbilisi very much and that he could not side with anyone who was destroying it. This says everything.

[Davituri] After you, E. Shevardnadze went to Ajaria. What was the significance of this?

[Kobalia] As a response to my visit, E. Shevardnadze probably went there to resolve more "lofty" matters. However, what my small visit achieved for the unity of the Georgian nation was more important for the Georgian people.

[Davituri] What can you say about the general situation at the front, and when and how can this war be brought to an end?

[Kobalia] Russia is controlling and supplying weapons to both sides, to the Abkhazians and to us. I have always been in favor of a peaceful regulation of this conflict. The Georgian people would really not have great difficulty in destroying this small nation but on no account should this happen.

There is total chaos in Abkhazia today. No one is subordinate to anyone. The artillery, aviation, and infantry are all separate and everyone is saying: These are my weapons; I bought them. You can imagine how dreadful the situation is.

I announced at the headquarters in Ochamchire that a single field command has to be created in order to regulate the conflict. [passage omitted]

[Davituri] Is it true that the "Avaza," Samtredia, and Gori battalions have united with you?

[Kobalia] The Gori battalion has been with us for several months now. However, you probably have in mind the operational side of things. All who are true patriots and genuine Georgians with a real desire to fight stand alongside us, in spite of their differing views, as they want to fight as a united force against the enemy in order to defend Georgia.

National Democratic Leader Views Role in Government

LD2208223993

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian at 1800 GMT on 22 August broadcasts a nine-minute recorded interview with National Democratic Party Chairman Gia Chanturia by journalist Irina Maghalashvili. The place and date of the interview are not given.

Asked to comment on Patsatsia's appointment as prime minister, Chanturia praises the new prime minister's personal qualities and work as head of local administration in Zugdidi. However, he complains that the blueprint for the future government structure remains vague. He says: "I understand that a new structure for the Cabinet of Ministers can be adopted after the prime minister has been appointed. But before there is even talk about the structure and nominees, it is essential to define the functions of this cabinet. Will it be a policy-making cabinet? Will it be a one-party or coalition cabinet? Will it still be an industrial entity or a political body? These questions have not been answered. And I am afraid that the appointment of Mr. Patsatsia is an indication that the cabinet of ministers as a whole will have an industrial function."

He continues: "Naturally, we will not be part of such a cabinet of ministers and will recall the ministers we have in it today. If the opposite is true and the cabinet of ministers is a group of politicians, then we will, of course, take part in the cabinet of ministers and try not only to retain the portfolios we have at the moment, but also to bring key ministries under our control."

Chanturia continues by saying that his National Democratic Party is the only party in Georgia to be able to provide leadership.

The interviewer's second and final question deals with President Shevardnadze's scheduled visit to Moscow on 23 August. Chanturia says the visit is very important because better relations with Russia are one of the main ways in which Georgia can preserve its independence.

He goes on to praise Western support for Georgia, and concludes by saying that Georgia's fate will ultimately be decided inside the country.

Deputy Head of Intelligence Service Appointed

LD2308180693 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1600 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Following the order from the head of the Georgian state, Colonel David Bakradze has been appointed the deputy head of the Intelligence and Information Service of the Republic of Georgia.

Preparations Under Way for Establishing EC Ties

LD2308180093 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1530 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Excerpts] Tbilisi, 23 Aug—An IBERIA correspondent has been told at the press center of the Georgian parliament that following an order from Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian Parliament and head of state, a draft agreement on establishing wide-ranging economic and political links between Georgia and the European Community is being prepared. It is expected that Georgia may become a member of the EC.

Vazha Lortkipanidze, director of the staff of the head of state, explains this issue: "During his visit to Brussels as well as at official meetings, Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian Parliament and head of state, put forward the issue of starting negotiations with the EC on comprehensive cooperation. The head of state expressed the wish to establish and deepen such relations.

"Now he has made a decision and ordered the Foreign Ministry, the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, other departments and organizations of the republic, and, of course, our mission at the European Community, to prepare a draft agreement on establishing comprehensive political, economic, and other relations between Georgia and the EC. This will in fact start the first stage of Georgia's membership in the EC, thus laying a foundation for our country's integration with Europe. [passage omitted]

"The next stage of the agreement will be acquiring the status of an associate member of the European Community. [passage omitted]

"Zurab Abashidze, our representative at the EC, is working actively to this end. These negotiations will reach their conclusive stage in September-October and the preliminary consultations which have been held allow us to suppose that this agreement will be signed." [passage omitted]

This event, the director of the staff of the head of state concluded, corresponds with the principles of active economic cooperation between Georgia and other countries, be it the immediate neighbor or a distant country. "These principles have been voiced many times by the head of state and they imply establishing such relations with political and economic structures of Europe and the world on the whole."

Parliament Adopts Law on Immigration

AU2308090093 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 6 Aug 93 p 2

["Republic of Georgia Law on Immigration"]

[Text] **Chapter I**

General Rules

Article 1. The Purpose of the Republic of Georgia Law on Immigration

The purpose of the Republic of Georgia Law on Immigration is to determine the rules and conditions governing the arrival of citizens of foreign states and also stateless persons (henceforth to be called "foreigners") to the Republic of Georgia to take up permanent residence, or their immigration, and also to regulate other relations arising in connection with this question in order not to compromise the interests of citizens of the Republic of Georgia.

Article 2. Legislative Acts Regulating Immigration

The Republic of Georgia Law on the Legal Position of Foreigners, this law, and other Republic of Georgia legislative acts regulate immigration into the Republic of Georgia.

If rules different to those in this law are established in an international treaty to which the Republic of Georgia is a signatory, the rules of that international treaty are to be applied.

Chapter II

The Legal Position of Immigrants

Article 3. The Status of an Immigrant

A foreigner who, in accordance with the rules established in Republic of Georgia legislation, has acquired the right to permanent residence in the Republic of Georgia is considered to be an immigrant in the Republic of Georgia.

The status of an immigrant may be conferred upon:

1. A Georgian by descent, that is to say a citizen of a foreign state or a stateless person whose father is Georgian;

2. The parents of a citizen of the Republic of Georgia, the spouse, and children under the age of 18 or those who have come of age and are incapacitated;

3. The spouse of an immigrant, children under the age of 18 or those who have come of age and are incapacitated;

4. Persons who are under the guardianship or care of a citizen of the Republic of Georgia;

5. A foreigner who is the guardian or has charge of a citizen of the Republic of Georgia;

6. Highly qualified specialists in the scientific sphere and artistic figures whose arrival corresponds to the interests of Georgia and also highly qualified specialists and workers in the technological field who are needed by the Georgian economy.

In order to acquire the status of an immigrant, a foreigner has to have a permanent legal source of income that will enable him to guarantee his minimum material needs (and those of the members of his family). The Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers, on the basis of calculations made by the Ministry of Social Security, Labor, and Employment, is to establish the equivalent of these needs in monetary terms.

If an immigrant does not have sufficient financial means, there must be a guarantee that he (or a member of his family) will be found work; such a decision is made by the Ministry of Social Security, Labor, and Employment.

The requirements stipulated in the third and fourth parts of this article do not extent to persons mentioned in Point 1 of the second part of this article.

Article 4. Grounds for Refusing Immigration to the Republic of Georgia

A foreigner may be refused the right to immigrate to the Republic of Georgia:

1. If he has committed a crime against peace and humanity;

2. If he has committed a serious criminal offense or criminal proceedings have been initiated against him during the last five years;

3. If his arrival will create a threat to the state security of the Republic of Georgia or the public order, or have a negative influence on the morality of the population;

4. If he is suffering from AIDS, venereal disease, or other diseases that are on a list determined by the Ministry for Health Protection, or is an alcoholic or drug addict;

5. If he has presented false or invalid documents in order to acquire a permit of residence on the territory of the Republic of Georgia or a visa to enter the Republic of Georgia;

6. If he has been previously expelled from the Republic of Georgia;

7. In other cases provided for by Republic of Georgia legislation.

Article 5. The Entry of an Immigrant to the Republic of Georgia

A foreigner who receives a permit of residence in the Republic of Georgia, will be given a visa to enter the Republic of Georgia from Republic of Georgia diplomatic or consular establishments.

A visa for entry into the Republic of Georgia is valid for one year from the day of its issue. If the foreigner does not come to Georgia during this period of time, the visa becomes invalid and the question of his immigration will be decided anew in accordance with the rules established in legislation.

A foreigner who has acquired the right to live in the Republic of Georgia, goes through passport control on his arrival in the Republic of Georgia, where he has to present a permit of residence in the Republic of Georgia, an entry visa, and his passport or an equivalent document.

On arrival in the Republic of Georgia, each immigrant undergoes a compulsory medical check.

A foreigner can be refused entry into the Republic of Georgia if there exist any circumstances provided for by Article 4 of this law.

Article 6. The Registration of Immigrants

Every immigrant is obliged to register with the internal affairs bodies at his place of residence within 10 days of his arrival in the Republic of Georgia.

An immigrant is obliged to inform the internal affairs bodies if he changes his place of residence.

Article 7. Grounds for Expelling an Immigrant From the Republic of Georgia

An immigrant can be expelled from the Republic of Georgia if:

1. It becomes known that he acquired a permit of residence in the Republic of Georgia by presenting false or invalid documents;

2. He commits a serious criminal offense;

3. He intentionally systematically violates current Republic of Georgia legislation or has a negative effect on the morality of the population;

4. His presence in the Republic of Georgia is against the interests of state security;

5. In other cases provided for in Republic of Georgia legislation.

A decision on the expulsion of an immigrant from the Republic of Georgia is made by the Ministry of Justice on the basis of a recommendation from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry for Health Protection, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Procurator's Office, judicial bodies, and the Information and Intelligence Service.

In the cases stipulated in Points 1, 3, and 4 in the first part of this article, a decision on the expulsion of an immigrant from the Republic of Georgia will be communicated in writing within 10 days of its adoption to the immigrant who is obliged to leave the territory of the Republic of Georgia within 30 days of its adoption. The immigrant has the right to appeal to the court against such a decision within 10 days. In this case, the 30-day period is suspended and is renewed the moment the decision of the court comes into force.

Persons stipulated in Point 2 in the first part of this article are obliged to leave the territory of the Republic of Georgia within 30 days of having served their sentence.

A decision on the expulsion of an immigrant from the Republic of Georgia does not extend to the members of the immigrant's family.

Article 8. The Forcible Expulsion of an Immigrant From the Republic of Georgia

An immigrant who does not fulfill the requirements stipulated in the third and fourth parts of Article 7 of this law will be forcibly expelled from the Republic of Georgia.

The procedure for forcible expulsion is established by the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers.

Article 9. The Rights, Freedoms, and Obligations of an Immigrant

An immigrant's rights, freedoms, and obligations are determined by the Republic of Georgia Law on the Legal Position of Foreigners, this law, and other Republic of Georgia legislative acts.

Chapter III

The State Regulation and Organization of the Control of Processes Connected With Immigration Into the Republic of Georgia

Article 10. The Immigration Quota

In order that the state can regulate the process of immigration into the Republic of Georgia, an immigration quota is determined annually, which signifies the establishment of limits on the number of immigrants.

The immigration quota is determined three months before the beginning of each calendar year by the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers and is ratified by the Georgian Parliament.

Article 11. Restrictions on the Immigration Quota

In accordance with state, political, and socioeconomic interests, it is possible for the Georgian Parliament to impose restrictions on the immigration quota on the basis of a proposal from the Georgian head of state or the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers.

Article 12. Organizing the Control of Immigration

Questions connected with immigration into the Republic of Georgia are discussed and resolved by the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Justice according to the rules established by the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers.

With the aim of examining in advance applications concerning immigration into the Republic of Georgia and preparing materials, a citizenship and immigration service is to be created under the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Justice. Representatives from the Committee for Refugees and Resettlement, the Ministry for Health Protection, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry for Social Security, Labor, and Employment, the Information and Intelligence Service, the Committee for Science and Technology, and the Republic of Georgia Academy of Sciences Institute for Demography and Social Research will participate in implementing immigration policy.

The rules of the Citizenship and Immigration Service are to be ratified by the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers.

Article 13. Assistance With an Immigrant's Adaption

The conditions and procedure for the adaption of immigrants to the Republic of Georgia are to be determined by the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers.

Chapter IV

The Procedure for Submitting and Examining Applications Concerning Immigration Questions

Article 14. The Procedure for Submitting Applications Concerning Immigration Questions

An able-bodied foreigner who has come of age has the right to submit an application for immigration to the Republic of Georgia.

The interested person is to submit an application for immigration to the Republic of Georgia directly to the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Justice or via Republic of Georgia diplomatic or consular representations.

The following documents certified by a notary public or his equivalent must be attached to an application for immigration:

1. A copy of his birth certificate or equivalent document;

2. A document giving information about family members; a copy of his marriage certificate.

In addition to the aforementioned documents, an application must be accompanied by:

1. For persons stipulated in Point 1 of Article 3 of this law:

A document giving proof of the nationality of his father;

If it becomes necessary to search through the archives in order to find proof of a parent's nationality, the Ministry of Justice must give the applicant the appropriate assistance free of charge.

2. For persons stipulated in Point 2 of Article 3 of this law:

a) An invitation sent by a relative who is a citizen of the Republic of Georgia;

b) A document proving that the person is a relative.

3. For persons stipulated in Point 3 of Article 3 of this law:

a) If they are accompanying the applicant, the latter's application for the conferment of their status as immigrants;

b) If they are coming to live with the immigrant, an invitation from the latter.

4. For persons stipulated in Points 4 and 5 of Article 3 of this law:

a) A document proving the identity of the guardian or person who has charge of the Republic of Georgia citizen;

b) The consent of the person under guardianship or charge.

In those cases stipulated in Points 4 and 5 of Article 3 of this law, only persons permanently resident in the Republic of Georgia have the right to apply for immigration to the Republic of Georgia.

5. For persons stipulated in Point 6 of Article 3 of this law:

a) A document proving the person's specialization (profession);

If immigrant parents are accompanied by children aged between 14 and 18, the written consent of the latter to immigrate is necessary.

If only one parent arrives in the Republic of Georgia who is accompanied by children below the age of 18, he or she has to submit the spouse's consent that he or she is not opposed to the children living with the immigrant parent, which has been certified by a notary public; if this consent is not given, the immigrant parent has to submit a court ruling from the corresponding state on who has been given custody of the children.

If necessary, the Ministry of Justice is empowered to request that the person interested in immigrating submits additional documents.

Article 15. State Duty

A person submitting an application in connection with the question of immigration has to pay a state duty whose amount and procedure for which are established by the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers.

Article 16. The Time Period for Examining and Processing Applications Concerning Immigration Questions

The time period for examining and processing applications concerning immigration questions should not exceed one year.

Article 17. Appeal Against a Decision Concerning Immigration Questions

It is possible to appeal to the court against a decision refusing permission to immigrate.

Article 18. A Second Examination of an Application Concerning Immigration Questions

A second examination of an application concerning immigration questions is possible one year after the adoption of the decision.

Article 19. Immigration Statistics

Statistics on immigration to the Republic of Georgia are compiled by the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Justice that submits this information to the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers.

[Signed] **Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian Parliament-head of state**

Vakhtang Goguadze, speaker of the Georgian Parliament

Tbilisi, 27 July 1993

Law To Take Effect 1 Sep

AU2308090693 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 6 Aug 93 p 2

["Decree of the Republic of Georgia Parliament on the Republic of Georgia Law on Immigration"]

[Text] The Georgian Parliament decrees:

1. The Republic of Georgia Law on Immigration is to take effect on 1 September 1993.

2. To entrust the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers before 25 August 1993:

a) To form a citizenship and immigration service attached to the Ministry of Justice and to ratify the rules of this service;

b) To ratify statutes:

on the procedure for discussing and resolving questions concerning immigration into the Republic of Georgia;

on rules for the arrival of immigrants to the Republic of Georgia and their departure from the Republic of Georgia;

on the procedure for the registration of immigrants;

on the procedure for an immigrant's expulsion from the Republic of Georgia;

on assistance to immigrants to the Republic of Georgia with their adaptation;

on statistics on immigration to the Republic of Georgia.

[Signed] Vakhtang Rcheulishvili, deputy speaker of the Georgian Parliament

[Dated] Tbilisi, 27 July 1993

Estonia

Foreign Ministry Views Halt to Russian Troop Pullout

WS2408112293 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0737 GMT 24 Aug 93

[From 24 August RAHVA HAAL, p 1]

[Text] Tuesday, August 24—The Foreign Ministry made a statement yesterday expressing deep concern with Russia's August 22 announcement on suspending the troop withdrawal from Lithuania. Estonia has been negotiating with Russia for a year and a half, together with Latvia and Lithuania, so as to achieve the fast, orderly and full withdrawal of Russian forces according to the Helsinki summit meeting final document.

"The Baltic states have been submitting constructive recommendations and been attempting to find solutions to the difficulties connected with the pullout of foreign troops," the statement reads. Sharing the responsibility for stability and security in the Baltic Sea region, Estonia invites Russia to continue the troops withdrawal from Lithuania, according to the existing agreement, and welcomes the expressed willingness to conclude similar agreements with Estonia and Latvia, including the timetable and deadline of the troops withdrawal.

Luik Comments on Appointment as Defense Minister

WS2408111993 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0737 GMT 24 Aug 93

[From 24 August PAEVALEHT, POSTIMEES, p 1]

[Text] Tuesday, August 24—President Lennart Meri appointed Juri Luik Defence Minister yesterday, the presidential press service announced. Luik will also remain head of the Estonian delegation for negotiations with Russia.

This combination is normal, Luik told the POSTIMEES. "We have always held that the head of the delegation must be a minister. The Defence Minister heading the delegation will elevate the standard of our delegation," he said.

The new minister will start from taking over the ministry from his predecessor and learning about the works in progress. Luik described the formulation of legislation on the Defence Forces as his most urgent task. "Of course, I had some idea of the Ministry before. I handled security policy and its military part while working in the Foreign Ministry. And a group of Defence Ministry officials belongs to the negotiations delegation," Luik said. He added that the relations between the Defence Ministry and the Defence Forces GHQ must be improved.

Luik denied any possible conflicts with the ERSP [National Independence Party]. The party has nothing against him personally and the rest is its internal matter, he claimed. He also stressed that would like an ERSP member to be included in the delegation. However, the member will have to be an official, since there are no politicians in the delegation, Luik pointed out. He further expressed his disagreement with the opinion of the Riigikogu foreign relations commission chairman Vello Saatpalu about disbanding the Defence League.

Defense League Office Damaged by Explosion

LD2308095593 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] During the night the building of Kaitseliit's [Defense League] Jarvamaa unit in Paide went up in flames. The Kaitseliit stored ammunition and explosives in its offices. The explosions which occurred in the fire demolished second floor walls and the roof. Nobody was hurt.

The duty officer at the Kaitseliit's headquarters refused to comment the incident and only stated that an internal investigation is in progress. This has been reported by the BALTIC NEWS SERVICE.

ERSP Conflicts Surface at Pact Commemoration Meeting

WS2408112393 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0737 GMT 24 Aug 93

[From 24 August RAHVA HAAL, PAEVALEHT, p 1]

[Text] Tuesday, August 24—The National Independence Party (ERSP) held a traditional meeting at the Hirvepark (Deer Park) to commemorate the 54th anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, but could not hide its internal conflict. Lagle Parek, Enn Tarto, Juri Estam, Ants Erm, Kaljo Poldvere and other leading figures of the party spoke to an estimated 200 participants. Juri Adams accused the members who expelled Tunne Kelam and Vardo Rumessen from the party, of irresponsibility. "This is a stab in the back by people without morals or ethics," Adams said, adding that Kelam was expelled because of his unwillingness to accept the dictate of the "minor businessman Robert Vill." He expressed his hope that his party will overcome the blow.

Robert Vill, in his turn, stressed that the ERSP has reached a stage where they will not respect idols. "We shall not bow to a man who does not recognize party discipline," he said. Vill also criticized the government decision to purchase weapons from abroad, claiming that Estonia's own weapons industry should be developed.

Juri Estam spoke about decolonisation and stressed the need for solidarity with Lithuania. While Lithuania presented its account for occupation damages to Russia, Estonia has failed to do so, he said. Interior Minister Lagle Parek called for unit and criticized the destructive mentality of the people. "We must look for support among ourselves to build up the State of Estonia," she said.

Deputy Speaker Tunne Kelam commented the expulsion to ETA, describing it as an accidental decision of a couple of dozen persons, which disregarded the views of the approximately 300 members of the ERSP Tallinn regional organisation. "There is an internal struggle within the ERSP, whether to carry on in a constructive spirit and according to the ideas of the ERSP or to hand over control to fruitless critics and pragmatic businessmen," he said. He denied major conflicts between the Riigikogu faction and the party itself, but stressed difficulties in the coordination of practical work with the party activists. The appointment of a minister must be decided by the Riigikogu faction together with the party administration, he said.

"Now as the ERSP ministers are beginning to get results in their work, the party is being attacked by its own members," Kelam said. He added that many activists feel lost because of insufficient attention and the pragmatics exploit the situation. But the faction members and the ERSP ministers have not gone along with business interests.

Trade Unions Protest Government Decision on Property

WS2308131193 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0746 GMT 23 Aug 93

[From 21 August RAHVA HAAL, p 3]

[Text] Monday, August 23—An extra meeting of the Trade Unions Central League (EAK) discussed the renationalization of the trade unions' property. The government decided to take over 98 percent of the property of the association "Eesti Kuurort", which belongs to the trade unions. The government argued that the sums transferred to the trade unions from Moscow during the Soviet rule actually came from the state budget.

The EAK officials claim that the government fails to consider the sums transferred to Moscow from Estonia, since 5 percent of the trade union membership fees were used for the maintenance of the resorts. Director General of the State Property Department Riho Rasmann admitted that the last year's parliament resolution on renationalization of property of non-profit organisations is ambiguous and all movements of sums have not been considered. He agreed to the compromise proposed by the trade union officials.

"If the government should have further claims, we shall interpret this as nationalization and shall protect it. We shall appeal to a court and the International Confederation of Labour," EAK Chairman Raivo Paavo warned.

Russian National League To Be Restored

WS2308131693 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0746 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Monday, August 23—Russian National League is to be restored in Estonia, chairman of the league Sergey Kuznetsov said. The organisation was originally formed in 1920. Kuznetsov added that the league will be able to stand its candidates at the local as well as the Riigikogu elections.

Russian Navy Wants 'Astronomical Sums' for Facilities

WS2008124293 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 2001 GMT 19 Aug 93

[Text] Tallinn, August 18—The Estonian Ministry of Defence has taken over Russian navy facilities for checking the magnetic field, located in the Viimsi Peninsula near Tallinn, Edgar Haavik, head of the Defence Forces Headquarters Marine Department, told ETA.

The facilities consist of a technical unit, laboratory, boiler, a 12-apartment house, and other items.

The takeover treaty has not been signed as talks over the price of the equipment have not yet ended. The Russian navy are demanding astronomical sums for the facilities, Haavik said. The submarine cable, for example, is priced at hundreds of millions kroons.

Russian Official Denies 1991 Assassination Plan

WS2308131393 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0746 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Monday, August 23—Head of the Russian Baltic Fleet counter-intelligence, Rear Admiral Anatoliy Drachenko denied claims that the Soviet armed forces intended to murder the Estonian leaders during the august 1991 coup attempt. Former Supreme Council chairman Arnold Ruytel had claimed recently that the Soviet special forces had been ordered to eliminate and isolate the Estonian government and parliament figures during the coup.

Latvia

Belarusian Foreign Minister Concludes Visit

WS2008125993 Riga LETA in English 1218 GMT 19 Aug 93

[Text] Riga, August 19 (LETA)—The Belarusian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Petr Kravchanka's official visit to Latvia ended in signing of the two treaties - on frontier passing posts and on cooperation in solution of questions concerning frontiers. Speaking at the press-conference Mr. Kravchanka pointed out that a serious dialogue has begun in Riga might result in signing of approximately twenty urgent agreements between the two countries in near future. During the up-coming visit of the Latvian

Prime Minister, Valdis Birkavs, to the Republic of Belarus signing of an important treaty on the state frontier as it had been before 1940 was planned. The protocol on organization of the joint commission on demarcation of the state frontiers would apparently signed, too. The minister from Belarus informed that three agreements on transport transit would be signed and the talks on solution of problems of national minorities would also be continued.

Petr Kravchanka expressed regret that one of the planned agreements, namely, the agreement "on the simplified regime of crossing the frontiers by citizens of the pre-frontier regions" had not been signed: the Latvian department on questions of citizenship and immigration had not been ready to sign that agreement. The high-ranking guest from Belarus confirmed readiness of the Republic of Belarus to solve all questions on the basis of mutual understanding, "calmly, behaving properly as it is used to be done in Europe, without unnecessary thrusts and appeals to other countries and international organizations as it should be done between the two neighbouring friendly countries".

In his reply the Latvian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Georgs Andrejevs, stressed that the main aim of the talks - normalization of the situation at the frontier line - had been achieved. The minister expressed hope that the problems of simplification of the frontier regime would also be solved.

Georgs Andrejevs pointed out that the talks with Belarus might serve as an example for bigger countries of solution of questions without policy of dictating to others and appeals to various international organizations.

Navy Takes Over Last Surveillance Post at Ventspils

WS2008125693 Riga LETA in English 1218 GMT 19 Aug 93

[Text] Riga, August 19 (LETA)—Tuesday [17 August] the Latvian Navy took over from the Baltic Fleet of Russia the last coast surveillance post located in Ventspils, as the Latvian Navy Deputy Commander, Janis Adamsons, informed the LETA correspondent. Besides, all the Baltic Sea-coast and 14 coast surveillance posts pass under the Latvian Navy authority.

Legislative Official, Russian Envoy Discuss Human Rights

WS2308131993 Tallinn BNS in English 1704 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Text] RIGA, Aug 21, BNS—The head of Latvia's parliamentary human rights commission, Inese Birzniece, at a meeting with Russian Ambassador Aleksandr Rannikh on Friday [20 August] expressed her commitment to sponsoring a dialogue between the two countries over the citizenship issue.

Birzniece said this would provide an opportunity to discuss the proposed legislation before its passage by the Latvian parliament. She also said the country's Minister of Justice Egils Levits was expecting the draft of the bill to be ready by the end of this month.

The head of the parliamentary commission and the Russian ambassador during the talks expressed a common opinion that Russia still was lacking sufficient information on the topic of human rights in Latvia. They ruled that both countries would aim at better exchanging of information.

Also discussed was the issue of repatriation of the Russian-speakers to their once homeland.

Ukrainian Charge Comments on Independence Anniversary

WS2408135993 Riga LETA in English 1053 GMT 24 Aug 93

[Text] Riga, August 24 (LETA)—On Monday [23 August] the Ukrainian temporary charge d'affaires to Latvia, Vladimir Cherny, held the press conference in commemoration of the second anniversary of independence of the Republic of Ukraine. He pointed out that there was much common in the fate of his country and the fate of the Baltic states. Vladimir Cherny stressed that more than once the Ukraine had tried to gain independence but all those attempts had been suppressed. At present the Ukraine experiences hard times. The present difficulties of the Republic are being intensified by Russia's attempts to dictate its will, for example the blackmail connected with energy resources or the question concerning the Crimea. Vladimir Cherny pointed out that all actions of Russia showed its attempts to cast doubt on independence of the Ukraine.

Vladimir Cherny stressed that the relations between the Ukraine and Latvia should be based on mutual interests and respect of sovereign rights of national minorities. He informed that treaties aimed at simplification of repatriation (especially, this concerned leaving for other republics and getting compensation for living space) were being discussed and prepared at the governmental level. However, he stressed that only those treaties would not be able to solve all the problems. He informed that only 7 thousand Latvians reside in the Ukraine while the number of Ukrainians living in Latvia amounts to 90 thousand. Many of them do not intend to return to the Ukraine. Vladimir Cherny stressed that all questions should be discussed diplomatically, by means of talks.

The Ukrainian diplomat paid much attention to the questions of security. He pointed out that this problem should be solved together by means of talks between the neighbouring countries, including the Baltic states. He stated that the Ukraine would seek for making the region between the Black and the Baltic seas unnuclear.

Legislature Criticizes Lithuanian Oil Terminal Plans

WS2408140493 Riga LETA in English 1053 GMT 24 Aug 93

[Text] Riga, August 24 (LETA)—Monday [23 August] an issue concerning the Lithuania's intention to erect the oil terminal in the Baltic sea near the Latvian frontiers was put on the agenda in the economics and budget committee.

The committee came to a conclusion that the realization of the project may cause the environment problems for it will not only increase the pollution of the Baltic sea but evoke the swift bank erosion. Besides, it will restrict and slow down the activity of the Ventspils port.

The committee considered also the ways foreign credits and aid should be used. Foreign credits has been stated unprofitable for the Latvian state because of the lack of serious business-plans. Moreover the distribution order for these credits have not been properly arranged.

Evaluating the foreign technical aid the committee admitted the necessity of the commission on the aid coordination to be set up and of the full information about the technical aid offered and of those in Latvia who need it.

Interior Minister Chairs Meeting on Defense Concept

WS2408083993 Riga LETA in English 1348 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Riga, August 23 (LETA)—On Friday [20 August] the representatives of Latvian Defence Ministry, voluntary guards "Zemessardze" headquarters and Interior Ministry gathered for a meeting chaired by the Interior Minister, Girts Kristovskis.

The participants of the meeting stressed that the changes in the near future should not undermine the domestic security of the state and defence abilities of Latvia. Kristovskis said that the units most loyal to Latvia should be there where the most vital for the Latvian state duties are to be done. We do not have so many troops trained to fight terrorism as to afford to confront them with each other. The head of Zemessardze headquarters, Colonel Juris Eihmanis, also agreed that the internal stability must be provided for and the main forces should be directed against the organized crime. He underlined that Latvia would be judged not by the number of troops, planes or tanks but definite activities aimed to fight the growing drug-dealing, organized crime and corruption.

The officials agreed in principle on separate issues connected with the control over special services. The proposals will be submitted to the Cabinet of Ministers.

Statistics Committee Provides Figures on Foreign Trade

WS2308132393 Tallinn BNS BALTIC BUSINESS WEEKLY in English 1829 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Text] Compared to a similar period last year, in the first half of 1993 the volume of Latvia's foreign trade rose to 731 mln lats, the republican Statistics Committee said.

The tendency to re-orient from the East to Western markets, a last year characteristic, has retained.

In all, over the first six months of this year Latvia's exports were 391,434 mln lats and imports - 339,217 mln.

Exports to and imports from the EC countries amounted to 103,763 mln and 49,521 mln lats, accordingly.

In its turn, exports to and imports from the EFTA nations were 41,545 mln and 34,370 mln lats.

The CIS countries accounted for 160,664 mln lits in exports and 133,403 mln lits in imports, with Russia's figures, respectively, being 100,118 mln and 101,421 mln lats.

Exports to Estonia and Lithuania were 7,577 mln and 13,885 mln lats, accordingly, while imports - 13,442 mln and 33,601 mln lats.

An itemized evaluation of the export/import data shows that exports are dominated by the products that are not produced domestically, for instance, mineral fuels and refined oil products whose shares in exports and imports accounted for 21.7 and 50.3 percent, respectively, or 20.3 and 38 percent for gasoline.

Government Attempts To Stabilize Grain Market

WS2308132193 Tallinn BNS BALTIC BUSINESS WEEKLY in English 1829 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Text] The Latvian government suspended half the Latvian grain processors' arrears to the state budget, nearly 15 mln lats, until July 1, 1994.

The government also earmarked USD 3 mln for crediting the spring sowing in 1994 and set a minimum purchase price for bread grain not sold before April 1994.

Because Latvia received humanitarian grain aid this year, the price of the 1992 harvest crops will be reduced to 0.12-0.16 lats a kilogram.

As yet, only two Latvian grain processors have found spare funds to repay the credit to the Bank of Latvia and the state budget.

Officials say that the problem of cheap Lithuanian and Russian grain flooding Latvia results from the government's policy of setting high purchasing prices and lower quality demands.

Lithuania

Brazauskas Seeks 'Third Party' To Mediate With Russia

WS2308143793 Tallinn BNS in English 1429 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Vilnius, Aug 23, BNS—President Algirdas Brazauskas says it's time to call in a third party to help Russia and Lithuania overcome their differences on a troop withdrawal settlement.

Speaking on national television Sunday [22 August] Brazauskas said that Lithuanian negotiators did not find common ground with Russia in Moscow Saturday and the Lithuanian-Russian summit scheduled for Monday had become "undesirable."

Brazauskas urged the public, the law enforcement agencies and heads of the Defense Ministry "to prevent possible provocations that could add to tension" in the aftermath of Russia's decision to suspend its troop withdrawal.

The two sides failed Saturday to agree on compensations for the damage caused during the Soviet and Russian military presence in Lithuania or on a sequence of further talks, he said. The Russian authorities do not want to discuss compensation; Lithuania is bound to compensation talks by the results of a national referendum last year.

"Everyone should obviously think what sacrifice is admissible," said Brazauskas. "What kind of compromise is possible on these issues?"

Brazauskas also asked opposition parties and others who want "a very hard course" in relations with Russia to use restraint because their irresponsible statements "only harm the prestige of the Lithuanian state."

Brazauskas said he wanted to discuss the suspension of the Russian troop withdrawal at his meeting with the Latvian and Estonian presidents, scheduled to start in Riga Aug. 27.

"As president I will do my best, look for ways and possibilities to have the Russian army withdraw as soon as possible," he said.

Presidential Adviser Explains Position at Talks

LD2308165993 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Interview with Justas Paleckis, foreign policy adviser to President Brazauskas, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Paleckis] A couple of words about the visit to Moscow the day before yesterday: Together with Mr. Bulovas and Mr. Januska, head of the political department of the Foreign Ministry of Lithuania, I held talks with Mr. Vitaliy Churkin, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of Russia, and other representatives of the Foreign Ministry. We went with a sincere desire to find some sort of compromise and to prepare the ground for the visit by Mr. Brazauskas. It was the last attempt to break the deadlock. As is often the way in world practice, contacts between leaders at the summit level have helped get things moving, and it was our main hope and main task to do things in such a way as to ensure that, while not retreating from Lithuania's position of principle, the Russian army will withdraw from Lithuania within the set time limit. This would be best both for Russia and, unquestionably for Lithuania; it would immediately enhance stability in the region and would probably also promote Russia's prestige.

However, since there were small differences in the positions of the parties—here I still cannot avoid saying that the delegations which worked long hours did not reach agreement on a compromise which could have won the day during a brief meeting, and we parted without results. The Russians did not accept what we suggested—and we brought several options, we came far from empty-handed. What Russia suggested was unacceptable to us—a mandatory agreement on troop withdrawal without fixing the level of damage, the compensation for damage.

Well, now of course there is a certain amount of tension in our relations. The army, clearly, will be staying for a certain time. But I should like to stress that the most dangerous thing now would be—both for Lithuania and for the region and for development in general—if this were to be used by provocative, irresponsible elements to whip up tension, for some sort of provocations, in order to regard the remaining Russian troops as enemies, invaders, or anything else and to organize some action. This is impermissible.

[Correspondent] Tell me, does this mean that the negotiations between Lithuania and Russia, not only on troop withdrawal, but also on concluding economic agreements, have been broken off and that there is an exacerbation of relations between the two states?

[Paleckis] Yes, of course. This will have an influence on the whole range of issues, including economic relations which are extremely important for us. We have not linked this directly, although of course we have an interest in signing such agreements, advantageous for Lithuania, and for Russia too, of course. Now this is on the back burner.

[Correspondent] What is Lithuania's attitude now?

[Paleckis] The attitude is the same. We are not slamming the door and we do not want the other side to do that, although there are some signs of that. We will remain firm on our stance that international law requires the unconditional withdrawal of the Russian troops. Here we are supported by the world public. To be sure, it supports us less as far as compensation for the damage inflicted in concerned. We must bear that in mind. But our position is for dialogue, continuing contacts and negotiations, since unless there are negotiations, the alternative is always very sad.

[Correspondent] How would you assess the utterances of those people who are talking about the beginning of a cold war, that in the Baltic region there is being created another hot spot, and the utterances of certain leaders about the possibility of repeating the situation of 1940?

[Paleckis] I assess this extremely negatively and I do not think that it is like that. It is certainly not 1940 now, and I have already had occasion to say this. If people think it is so, then they must think that it is not Yeltsin sitting in Moscow, but Stalin, that Germany's leader is not Mr. Kohl, but Hitler, and that the whole of Europe, as it was then apart from Great Britain, is occupied by dictator regimes. It is completely different now, and we must take account of this and make use of this situation.

The fact that in Russia there is a fight not for life, but to the death, between democratic and reactionary forces is a very important factor, and we are quite definitely on the side of the democratic forces, and of course we should think how our actions and relations influence the intensification of the attitude of one side or another. It is certain that in this situation our priority is President Yeltsin, who played such an unforgettably outstanding role in the January 1991 events, and we must not forget that now in effect events are happening in Russia which will have an enormous impact on the fate of both Europe and the world as a whole—I mean democracy or empire, the development of the market economy or reverse development. We must not forget this.

[Correspondent] As someone who used to be engaged in diplomatic activity and who is now a representative of the presidency, what can you say to the people of Lithuania who are worried that the troops will not be withdrawn from their territory, and at the same time to the 2,500 Russian military who are left here in Lithuania, whose position is also far from enviable?

[Paleckis] Yes indeed, they want to go home. They are ready to go home and for political reasons they have to stay here for a certain time. But judging from the negotiations and talks with Russia, this will not be endless. But I should like to say everything must still be done, as before, to break the deadlock of this situation, that we will of course appeal to international organizations, we will ask for international support. But the proposal of President Brazauskas to bring in a mediator in this situation—nevertheless it will be decided first and foremost by our contacts, negotiations, and dialogue with Moscow. And there is this good Russian expression, that hope is the last thing to die. There is still hope, but for it to be made flesh there needs to be much good work without any prejudices, without any whipping up of suspicion and distrust for each other.

Of course, first and foremost there must be no provocations committed against the Russian military. The officers and men are of course in no way responsible for the situation that has come about.

Further on Foreign Ministry Statement on Russian Stance

LD2308135593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1200 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] A statement issued by the Foreign Ministry of Lithuania on 22 August notes in particular that Lithuania is especially anxious about the part of the statement of the Foreign Ministry of Russia that the Russian Federation does not see any sense in continuing interstate negotiations on the withdrawal of troops. The official position of the Republic of Lithuania is to create a calm atmosphere around the Russian military and their families, as well as conditions for them to live in until they leave the territory of Lithuania. The position of Lithuania is unchanging. We see negotiations as being the only civilized way of solving the problem. For this reason other means are unacceptable—political, military, or economic pressure. As distinct from the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Federation, we do see sense in continuing the negotiations, the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry statement says.

At the same time Albinas Januska, the director of the political department of the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry, noted at a news conference today that in the very near future the Foreign Ministry will adopt the definitive text of a statement. He also said that from 1 November there will be a visa procedure in relation to CIS countries. However, with regard to Kaliningrad Oblast the matter will remain open, he stated.

Russian Negotiator Assails Policy on Withdrawal

LD2308160693 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1200 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Telephone interview with Viktor Isakov, head of Russian delegation in negotiations with Lithuania, by unidentified correspondent on 23 August; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] What is your view of the latest round of the negotiations?

[Isakov] Well, judge for yourself what has happened. The delegations worked. The delegations agreed a document and we can always prove this with documentary evidence. In this connection, when Stengelis came to Moscow on 27th or 29th, it was clear that a document was needed with some more editorial smoothing to be signed, as a result of which Mr. Yeltsin invited President Brazauskas to come on 5 August. But instead of that, a Lithuanian delegation arrived, and instead of the agreed document we were presented with a new document providing for new negotiations in the four weeks before the end of the troop withdrawal. Moreover, the new text included provisions which had been rejected by Russia back in September last year. If the Lithuanian delegation [word indistinct] knew that it was unacceptable, that it had been rejected already, to include and present the new document with unacceptable provisions four weeks before the troop withdrawal represented an absolutely open attempt to break the negotiations. And it is not only a matter of compensation for 1940, because a whole series of clauses was reworked and included provisions which had already been rejected by us on several occasions.

Thus, the calculation was simple, and it was not concealed in Lithuania: That the troops will leave of their own accord and we don't need any agreements—break off the negotiations or lead them into deadlock, and the troops will leave then. Well, we could not agree with this of course. So we proposed that Lithuania return to the document which had been previously on the negotiating table. But you know how events developed later. An attempt was made once again; Mr. Paleckis came and Mr. Bulovas came with their colleagues to take a look at the text again, but it was discovered that the Lithuanian delegation had come once again with its old proposals, again with its old positions.

Much is said about 1940. It is not that this problem does not exist, and we do not intend at all to question the right of Lithuania to pose the problem. It is another thing that this document about the withdrawal of troops, Russian troops, does not include a problem caused by the Soviet Union. For this reason Russia rejected this in September... [sentence incomplete]

[Announcer] Unfortunately at this point our telephone conversation with the head of the Russian delegation for the negotiations with Lithuania, Viktor Isakov, was broken off.

Trade, Industry Ministry on Increase in Foreign Trade

WS2008145793 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1122 GMT 20 Aug 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 313]

[Text] Vilnius, August 19 (ELTA)—Lithuania has conducted foreign trade with 134 countries in 1993. This figure for 1992 was 99. The foreign trade turnover for the first half was 628,6 billion talonas, for 1992 all year - 412.6 talonas. The import - 257.7 billion talonas, export - 365.8 talonas. The percentage of trade with the West turnover of the total figure was 22 percent, that of 1992 - 12 percent. 44 percent of the total trade with the western countries was import, 50 percent - belong to export. According to the data provided by the Section of Trade Missions of the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the dominating trading western partners have been Germany and Italy, in the East - Russia. China has become more active - it has given a loan of 5.2 million USA dollars to purchase Chinese goods: clothing, textile, footwear, bakery and tobacco products. China has also sent a charity package in the spring: rise worth 223 thousand dollars. Italy has also given the credit for purchasing Italian goods. The import from Germany has increased during the first half of 1993 while export has dropped. This year import comprised 13 percent, in 1992 - 7 percent, export this year was 8 percent, in 1992 - 13 percent. The export of the non-ferrous metals - lead, tin, copper, zinc - of 1992 was worth 19.6 billion talonas. The import from Russia this comprised 43 percent, compared to 64 percent in 1992, the export for the first half of 1993 was 31 percent compared 24 percent in 1992. The turnover of the trade with the other Baltic states had grown. The import from Latvia of the first half of 1993 was 2 percent, export - 9 percent while 0.7 percent of import and 8 percent of export last year. The trade balance with Estonia is as follows: import this year - 0.7 percent, in 1992 - 0.3 percent, export this year - 2 percent, last year - 1.6 percent.